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THE ALBERTA FRANCOPHONE GAMES: A QUESTION OF IDENTITY

by

Christine Dallaire

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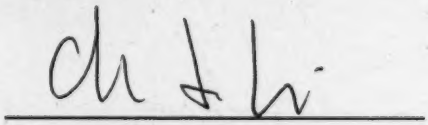

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to examine the production of francophone identity and community in the context of sport. I have tried to deconstruct empirically the complexity of the significance and meanings of the 'francophone' surfacing at the Alberta Francophone Games (AFG) created in 1992. This annual provincial event seeks to integrate French-speaking youths into francophone ranks and to foster francophone identity and pride. Cultural studies, and particularly discourse analysis, has guided and framed the research while francophone studies and sport studies have also informed it. The analysis of the AFG reveals two competing discourses producing various definitions of the francophone. The first discourse defines membership in the francophone community based only on one's ability to speak French, no matter what other cultural markers the French speaker might carry. Conversely, the basic tenet of the second discourse is that a francophone is someone who partakes in a particular history and culture associated with the French language in Canada. This second discourse is closely associated to the ethnic definition of francophone communities.

The analysis also demonstrates that the production of the francophone is complicated by the interaction of the sport imperatives with the promotion of a minority identity. The dominant sport model acts on the outcome of the conflict between the competing definitions of the francophone, while also constraining and undermining the AFG's mission to promote francophone identity. My research suggests that it is in this context that, despite AFG organizers' intentions, youths were not produced as strong francophones, but as bilingual youths on a fun weekend. Their francophoneness was left as is at the AFG--diluted and reduced to a fragile component of a hybrid identity. French-speaking youths did not live their francophoneness habitually, it was a strategic project that constantly required effort because their anglophoneness was more spontaneous.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACFA	*Association canadienne-française de l'Alberta*
AFG	Alberta Francophone Games
AMFA	*Association multiculturelle francophone de l'Alberta*
FCFA	*Fédération des communautés francophones et acadiennes*
FJCF	*Fédération de la jeunesse canadienne-française*
FJA	*Francophonie Jeunesse de l'Alberta*
SJFA	*Société des Jeux francophones de l'Alberta*

CHAPTER ONE - INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Alberta Francophone Games (AFG)

> Bien moi, quand j'explique les Jeux à quelqu'un qui ne connaît pas ça, je parle des Jeux du Québec. Je parle des Jeux de l'Acadie. "Tu connais ça? Non. Bien, c'est une rencontre sportive. Mais le mandat des Jeux de l'Alberta c'est pour le développement de la communauté. Stratégiquement, la clientèle c'est les jeunes de tel âge à tel âge." Moi, je sais que ça les attire beaucoup parce que quand j'ai fait la première tournée à travers l'Alberta pour expliquer les Jeux, que ça s'en venait, et tout ça (...) Tout le monde était intéressé. Fait que je me suis dit, tout de suite, on peut... C'était un peu, comment on dirait ça, un peu l'appât pour attirer les jeunes. Une fois qu'on les avait, il fallait mettre la graine, ou la semence dedans. C'est ça les Jeux. C'est une attrape pour faire venir les jeunes et leur donner des éléments de fierté, d'identité. De valoriser, finalement, ce qu'ils sont pour qu'ils s'en retournent et qu'ils aient cet élément aussi avec eux autres.[1] (Francophonie Jeunesse de l'Alberta (FJA)/Ea, 1997.)

Between May 16 and May 19, 1997, more than 140 Peace River area volunteers welcomed about 180 teenagers coming to Falher from across the province to participate in the Alberta Francophone Games (AFG). Over the course of this May long weekend, the members of the organizing committee and their volunteer team faced many unforeseen circumstances that shaped this fifth edition of the AFG. A major complication at the Games' outset was a snowstorm that raged throughout Friday night and caused a power failure. From the early morning hours on Saturday, Falher and the surrounding area were without electricity. The participants, all staying in local schools, woke up to find they had to prepare for their first day of activities without light or water, let alone hot water. Resourceful volunteers prepared pancakes and served a candlelight breakfast to the crowd gathered in the windowless hall. The morning meal was thus served and eaten in a camping atmosphere instead of complete chaos.

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[1] Most of the documents of francophone associations I analyzed and all the interviews I conducted were in French. The French versions of quotes originating from interview transcripts and drawings/statements were modified, when necessary, to have them conform to the conventions of written French. These modifications are explained in Chapter Two, section 2.3.1.3. Translations for all quotes taken from the empirical data introduced in the text of this dissertation are provided as footnotes. Unless otherwise indicated, translations from French to English are mine. "When I explain the Games to someone who does not know what they are, I talk about the *Jeux du Québec*. The *Jeux de l'Acadie*. 'You know what that is? No. Well, it is a sports event. But the mandate of the Alberta Francophone Games is for community development. Strategically, our clientele is youth in this particular age group.' I know that it attracts them a lot because when I first traveled through Alberta to explain the Games, that they were coming and all that (...). Everyone was interested. So, I thought to myself, right away, we can... It was a kind of, how would we say it, a bait to attract youth. Once we had them, we had to plant the seed in them. That is what the Games are. They are a lure to bring in youth and give them elements of pride, of identity. To enhance, ultimately, what they are so that they go back and take that element also with them."

The snow and the power failure also interfered with the schedule of activities. Many were shocked by the return of the snow and cold since the previous days had been sunny and quite warm throughout the province with temperatures of up to +30 degrees Celsius in some areas. After all, it was May! Not only were the organizers compelled to cancel the day's scheduled outdoor soccer games--since none of the participants were dressed to confront the cold and wet snow--they were also forced to reorganize most of the other sites for the day. While power was restored in surrounding villages and towns, Falher, the host town and headquarters of the Games, remained without electricity. In addition to reworking the badminton and volleyball schedule, the organizing committee had to locate other available gymnasiums in the area where the power had been restored.

Later that afternoon, one of those gymnasiums was the site of a hostage taking (without violence or weapons, fortunately). When the day's competitions were over, the person in charge of the facility refused to let the participants leave until the rental fee had been paid. One of the organizers in Falher jumped in his car for the twenty-minute drive to deliver a cheque. Luckily, electricity had been restored in Falher by then and the rest of the weekend activities were held at the designated facilities.

However, after the snow came the rain. The parking lots turned into "gumbo", the infamous Peace River sludgy mud. One of the chartered buses was stuck in the mud, unable to carry the participants to their next location. Again, last minute changes became necessary to ensure the youths' transportation so that they could participate in their activities. Moreover, organizers had to reassure the bus driver who, worried about the damages his vehicle sustained as it was hauled out of the mud, threatened to leave Falher on Sunday. That would have meant that the delegation assigned to that bus for the trip home would have been forced to miss almost half of the AFG. In the end, the bus driver agreed to stay, much to the relief of the organizers, the *chef de mission* and the participants.

A final disturbing incident occurred Sunday evening when another bus was the target of an unexplained shooting. As the participants were driven back from an evening of entertainment in Peace River to their lodgings in Falher, a window of the bus was shattered by shots from a pellet gun. Fortunately no one was hurt. All participants eventually returned safe and sound to their sleeping bags for their last night before the athletic finals, closing ceremonies and the trip home.

Such were the difficulties the organizers and volunteers overcame during the Games as they strove to provide participating youths with a memorable weekend and a warm welcome. These incidents were admittedly disruptions beyond any reasonable expectation. Yet, why would these people devote time and energy to staging the AFG fully knowing that unexpected situations would inevitably disrupt carefully planned activities? Why would anyone voluntarily sacrifice the May long weekend to entertain teenagers? Simply put, the organizers were involved in the AFG because they wanted to contribute to the francophone cause. Although, looking back, organizers might well laugh about those misfortunes, it was obvious throughout my research into the AFG that the individuals who devoted their time to such a project--which requires tremendous preparation and effort--dedicated themselves sincerely to a cause they considered serious. To them, the preservation of the francophone community is no laughing matter. To the extent that the AFG can be mobilized for this cause, organizers and volunteers considered them to be a very significant and necessary undertaking.

Concern for the prospects of the francophone community in Alberta led to the creation of the Alberta Francophone Games in 1992 and, to this day, motivates the organization of this annual event. In 1990, the *Fédération de la jeunesse canadienne-française* (FJCF) had launched an extensive venture titled *Vision d'avenir*, a national commission of inquiry to study the perceived urgent issue of francophone teenager assimilation into Canadian anglophone society. To fight this 'crisis', the commissioners proposed, among other solutions, to develop one of the areas most likely to attract youth: sport. The final report of *Vision d'avenir* called for the establishment of pan-Canadian francophone games in the hope of contributing to community development and generating among youths a sense of francophone pride and belonging. The first step of this sport endeavor entailed planning provincial and regional competitions in order to eventually hold a national championship, the *Jeux de la francophonie canadienne*, bringing together youths from all over Canada. It is in the context of this larger francophone sport project that the Alberta provincial francophone youth association, *Francophonie Jeunesse de l'Alberta* (FJA), instituted the first AFG in 1992. This provincial sport enterprise seeks to integrate youths into the francophone community and encourages them to understand themselves as francophones.

1.2 Research questions

But what exactly is this community that organizers and volunteers work so hard to sustain? Who is deemed a member of this community? Which youths are welcome in the community? Who are those other francophone youths whom participants are meant to meet at the Games and recognize as peers, to recognize as francophone youths like them? What francophone identity is produced through this sport event? These are the questions that sparked my interest in the Games and prompted this doctoral research.

Sociological work on francophone communities in Canada has not particularly explored the question: who counts as a francophone? It has, however, analyzed the social construction of francophone communities and their changing collective identities; namely, it has problematized the situations as a fragmentation of the French Canadian nation into provincialized minorities. Broadly, the francophone studies literature has adopted three approaches to conceptualizing contemporary francophone identity (Cardinal, 1994). The first approach theorizes francophone identity and community as a construct of history and culture. The second approach focuses on the minority status of the francophone by examining the conditions framing the production of this identity. And the third approach analyzes the political nature of the definition of identity.

Juteau has been influential in developing the first two approaches (Juteau-Lee, 1979, 1980, 1983a, 1983b; Juteau-Lee and Lapointe, 1983). Indeed, her work on the changing cultural and structural factors that altered the boundaries of the Ontario francophone community--the transformation of the French Canadian collective identity into a Franco-Ontarian community--has especially helped my own attempts to understand the ongoing production and reproduction of francophone identities outside Quebec.

However, it is Thériault's (1994) account of the shifting constitutive relationships of francophone communities as well as the changing relations between these collectivities and the State that has had a greater impact on my doctoral research. He helps identify

aspects of the ambivalence characterizing francophone identities. Following Breton's (1983, 1985a, 1985b) lead in establishing the third approach used to theorize identity in francophone studies, Thériault (1994) provides a two-part explanation of the transformation of francophone collective identity. First, the social relationships producing francophone communities have taken on a predominantly political and contractual dimension whereas they used to be mostly founded on a shared culture. Second, these communities have constituted themselves as provincialized minorities as a result of their changing relationships with provincial and federal governments.

Other authors in francophone studies have also observed the transformation of francophone communities. For instance, Guindon (1984) called for the acknowledgment of the changing membership of these collectivities. He observed that in Ontario, French-speakers of diverse ethnic origins--that is other than French Canadian--were rethinking francophone identity, thus forging a place for themselves as francophones without necessarily adopting the values of the historical Franco-Ontarian community. Unfortunately, only a few authors such as Kérisit (1996) and Marchand (1998), have discussed the impact of the integration of other ethnic groups into francophone communities. In their outline of the changes affecting the historical social construction of francophone communities, Cardinal and Lapointe (1990) observed as well that French-speakers of multiethnic origins were bringing into question the nature of francophone communities, and I would argue, distinguishing these communities from French Canadian ethnic groups.

In addition, Cardinal and Lapointe (1990) propose that the presumed homogeneity of francophone communities was also complicated by the creation since the 1960s and 1970s of groups that laid claim to francophone identity in conjunction with other identities such as youth associations. Thus, francophone communities were forced to acknowledge their members' multiple identities -- as youth, women, parents, recent immigrants and others -- in conjunction with whatever 'francophone' affiliation was produced (Cardinal, 1994).

The literature on the re-invention of these collectivities tends to revolve around the State's role in the production of the francophone (Cardinal, 1994; Denis, C. 1994; Denis, W.D. 1993a, 1993b; Juteau, 1994; Juteau and Lapointe, 1983; Thériault, 1994) or on the resistance and/or integration of French-speakers to the larger anglophone society (Allaire and Fedigan, 1990, 1991, 1993; Aunger, 1993; Bernard, 1991; Bouchard, 1994; Castonguay, 1993, 1994; Fedigan and Allaire, 1991; Mougeon and Beniak, 1994; Renaud, 1991). For instance, Cardinal (1997a) comments on the introduction of the Federal regime of linguistic rights and its influence on producing francophone communities as linguistic collectivities. Conversely, Bernard's (1998) thoughts on francophone identity focus on the changing demographics of francophone communities, on the connection between inter-linguistic families--that is French-English--and the Anglicization of francophone communities, and on the development of a bilingual identity among youths.

Almost all these authors conceptualize francophone communities as ethnic groups, even if some of them recognize that the members are from different cultural origins. Boudreau and Neilson (1994) comment that recent work on these communities focuses on citizenship and pluralism as opposed to the study of ethnicity and community. However, the basic premise of this work (Cardinal, 1994, 1997b; Juteau, 1994) remains

the same: the francophone is defined by ethnicity. Lafontant (1992, 1995, 1997, 1998) has been one of the few researchers to question the assumed ethnicity of contemporary francophone collectivities. He challenges the inferred connection between culture, territory, language and ethnicity in the production of francophone identity. Lafontant proposes the adoption of a post-ethnic approach, as opposed to a perspective focused on parentage and history, in order to further understand francophone identity and to better take into account francophones on the margin.

My doctoral research is informed by this body of work but it adopts a different path by drawing ideas about identity predominantly from cultural studies instead of ethnic studies. Cultural studies focus on the relationships between culture and society and pose these relationships as problematic (Blundell, Shepherd, and Taylor, 1993). Nelson, Treichler and Grossberg (1992) add that cultural studies have recently "become increasingly concerned with the complex ways in which identity itself is articulated, experienced, and deployed" (p. 9). To examine questions of identity, cultural studies draw from different theoretical approaches and disciplines, such as postcolonialism, feminism, postructuralism and postmodernism. Some of the theorists using these approaches have adopted ethnography as a method to explore ideas of identity, history and social relations (Nelson, Treichler and Grossberg, 1992). My own research follows this ethnographic approach, using the AFG as an empirical context to examine francophone identity. The theoretical dimension of this doctoral project is mostly informed by poststructuralism and specifically by the production of identity through discourse. As other work in cultural studies, my project can be seen as a *bricolage*[2] of ideas. It is framed by poststructuralist assumptions but also draws from francophone and sport studies.

Following Claude Denis' (1993, 1994, 1996, 1999) lead, I have found poststructuralism, and in particular discourse theory, useful to emphasize the importance of language in the production and reproduction of francophone (or other) identities. Where francophone studies has historically examined the relationships that characterize francophone communities, I assume those relationships, and focus on how they are discussed and defined. Here, Foucault's (1969, 1976, 1983, 1984) discourse analysis offers a model for uncovering and understanding the linguistic and other symbolic practices through which affiliations are lived, and the social relationships that make up any collectivity are defined and publicly articulated. It thus offers theoretical tools, on the one hand, to better understand how ways of talking and thinking contribute to the social construction of identity, and on the other hand, to identify the kinds of affiliations produced (whether ethnic, linguistic, political or other), as well as the dynamics between multiple affiliations, and the processes by which French-speakers take on or resist francophone identities.

Butler's (1990, 1992, 1993) feminist adaptation of Foucault's discourse analysis has also been helpful in developing an understanding of the francophone identity as performative--constituted through practices regulated by discourse. One becomes a francophone by 'doing' the francophone. Indeed, French speakers constitute themselves as francophones by engaging in repeated practices that produce and define francphoneness. For instance, French-speakers become francophones by speaking

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[2] Here, the term "bricolage" refers to a flexible research process adapted and responsive to the circumstances and context.

French and taking part in the Games. The idea of "hybridity" as discussed by Bhaba (1994), Pieterse (1995) and Young (1995) is another idea I borrow from cultural studies to introduce the idea of youth identities as hybrid identities. Today, many young French-speakers inherit a mix of two or more languages and/or cultural heritages. They perform not only as francophones, but also as anglophones. The linguistic and discursive practices of teenagers demonstrate the plurality of their identity--as youth, students, athletes, girls, consumers--but also its hybridity: They live in, and identify with, both francophone and anglophone worlds. In this sense, hybridity refers to the combination of identities (francophone and anglophone) formerly discursively constructed as opposites. Together, discourse analysis, the ideas of performative identities and hybridity provide for a more sophisticated understanding of the always fluid processes of identity formation in francophone communities.

The originality and importance of this research stems not only from its attempt to shed a new light on the 'francophone' with the use of ideas borrowed from cultural studies, but also from its focus on leisure. Indeed, by using the Alberta Francophones Games as a case study, I examined the francophone identity as it is produced through popular culture. Francophones have established a variety of institutions in the realm of popular culture to promote their communities and identities. One need only think of activities ranging from music and theater festivals to sport and cultural gatherings such as *La Nuit sur l'étang*, the *Festival du Voyageur*, the *Festival théatre jeunesse*, the many *Tournois franco-ontariens* and the *Fête franco-albertaine* to be reminded that francophones are reproducing themselves in part through their participation in activities in French in their leisure time. Even Breton (1985b), the sociologist who inspired the study of institutional completeness and the role of institutions in the production of francophone communities, recognizes that leisure and cultural activities contribute to community development by attracting and/or retaining members. Yet, with the exception of perhaps Stebbins (1994), Denis (1994) and my own work (Dallaire, 1995; Dallaire and Denis, 1999; Dallaire and Whitson, 1998), most of the research in francophone studies emphasizes the contribution of political and educational institutions to the renewal of francophone communities.

This study highlights the significance of leisure activities and of popular culture in the production of languages of identity, and complex and hybrid identities among contemporary young people. Leisure is a context in which teenagers make choices, and they often see these choices as acts of self-definition. Leisure time is also important in the lives of youths. It is there that they make friendships that also lead to other affiliations. This is clearly recognized by francophone community leaders, and it is one of the primary reasons for the existence of the AFG. French-speaking youths in Alberta, like others across Canada, define themselves in part by choosing from among a variety of opportunities for leisure and sociability. Some of these choices lead to the development of affiliations that strengthen their attachment to the francophone community. However, other opportunities lead to friends and connections that take them away from the community, towards other communities and other forms of identification. To try to attract and retain their youths into the francophone community, francophone leaders endeavor to create, in the Games, an attractive space for youths to produce themselves as francophones.

To better understand the role of the AFG in the construction of the francophone, this doctoral project is informed by the larger sports literature on identity. The idea that sport contributes to the production of national, class, racial, ethnic, gender, sexual or other identities is the subject of a growing body of research in sport studies (Allison, 1979; Baker and Boyd, 1997; Birrel, 1989; Boulanger, 1988; Bourgeois and Whitson, 1995; Cheska, 1984, 1987, 1988; Cronin and Mayall, 1998; Jarvis, 1991; Laberge and Sankoff, 1988; Lenskyj, 1986; MacLancy, 1996; Messner and Sabo, 1990, 1994; Messner, 1992; Pronger, 1992; Sugden and Bairner, 1999; Shogan, 1999). I have particularly drawn from Canadian research on the relationship between cultural identity and sporting or leisure activities (Asselin, 1995; Day, 1981; Harney, 1985; Harvey, 1999; Gruneau and Whitson, 1993; Karlis and Dawson, 1990, 1995; Rensen, De Kegel and Smulders, 1983; Paraschak 1991, 1996, 1997; Walter, Brown and Grabb, 1991). A study of the AFG reveals the complicated and contradictory relationship between sport and francophone identities; sport can help promote and sustain minority identities, yet, at the same time, it can undermine them. This research attempts to problematize the present situation of francophone institutions with respect to leisure, exploring specifically whether developing their own sporting institutions contributes to the renewal of francophone identifications within a predominantly anglophone environment. I hope to further our understanding of the reproduction of identity through francophone communities' own activities and institutions. My research thus augments the dominant perspective in francophone studies by exploring how a sporting event such as the AFG becomes a site where francophone identity is articulated and re-invented.

Moreover, studying francophone identity in the context of the AFG also adds another dimension to an emerging interest in francophone youth identities. According to Cardinal, Lapointe and Thériault (1994), youth has not been a central subject of studies on francophone communities. Instead, francophone youths were generally examined in the context of research on socio-linguistic issues or education where they were perceived as victims of assimilation and targets of the educational process. Since the early 1990s, a few authors have investigated youth identities, their practices of, and affiliations associated with, French language and culture and/or their Anglicization (Boudreault, 1991; Boissonneault, 1996; Hébert, 1996; Gingras, 1993; Marchand, 1998; Renaud 1991). My work differs because it situates the ways in which teenagers talk about and perform their 'francophoneness' within the context of the discourses on francophone identity produced in the community and specifically at the Games. How are these youths 'performing' the francophone at the AFG? Thus, this study tries to contribute to understanding the place of youth activities in the reproduction or dissolution of minority identities. Francophone youth associations are engaging in the development and institution of sport and cultural activities throughout the country, such as the AFG, the *Jeux de la francophonie canadienne*, the *Jeux franco-ontariens* and the *Jeux de l'Ouest*. Thus, an analysis of sport and leisure as a medium for the production of youth francophone identities is timely.

In short, the purpose of my doctoral research is to examine the production of the francophone in the context of sport. Instead of taking the 'community' and the 'francophone' as a given, I have tried to deconstruct empirically the complexity of their significance and meanings. The Alberta Francophone Games served as a case study allowing me to outline the competing definitions of the francophone and their

entanglement in the production of community. Discourse analysis frames and guides my ethnographic research on the production of francophoneness at the AFG. Chapter Two presents the research methodology by introducing the theoretical ideas that informed my project and by describing the data collection process. Chapter Three introduces the AFG and presents a brief overview of their inception. This history of the Games serves to contextualize my research and analysis by situating the AFG in the larger project of francophone community development.

The first part of the analysis focuses on the discursive production of the francophone through the Games and through the provincial francophone institutional network. Chapter Four introduces the organizers, volunteers and francophone organizations that participated in the discursive struggle about francophoneness. By analyzing in Chapter Five how the leaders of provincial associations as well as AFG organizers and volunteers understood francophone identity, my work examines how the continuous redefinition of the boundaries, labels and identities within francophone communities frame the ways in which we think of the francophone. Francophones today face a multitude of possible affiliations and practices that provide opportunities to define oneself in various ways. In this context, different allegiances and identities may be in tension, and francophone identity is constantly contested, not only through ways of affiliating to the French language and culture (e.g., French Canadian, Franco-Albertan, francophone), but also in terms of the priority given to any kind of francophone identification over other kinds of identification such as gender, sexual, professional, political identities and more.

While the first part of the analysis outlines the francophone discourses enunciated through the AFG, the second part of the analysis demonstrates that the production of the francophone was complicated by the interaction of the sport imperatives with the promotion of a minority identity as well as by the participating youths' own ideas about francophoneness. Chapter Six argues that the sport discourses articulated at the AFG participated in the contest between the francophone discourses and vice versa. On the one hand, the dominant sport model acted on the outcome of the conflict between the competing definitions of the francophone, while also constraining and undermining the AFG's mission to promote francophone identity. On the other hand, the analysis also reveals that in the struggle between the sport and francophone discourses, francophone objectives were also shaping the sport component of the Games. Chapter Seven explores the youths' discursive practices and presents their own understanding of the francophone. This Chapter discusses the performativity and hybridity of francophone identity in relation to youths' discursive practices at the AFG. How they conceived of their own relationship with the community reveals the paradox of their hybrid identity; they were emotionally attached to their francophoneness but they also held on to their insertion in an anglophone world that enticed them away from it. Their position in the dilemma between sporting and francophone agendas demonstrates their ambivalence towards the *francophonie*. Chapter Eight attempts to combine and reconcile these different analytical perspectives and offers some concluding (though by no means conclusive) remarks on the production of francophone identities at the AFG.

PART ONE

METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

CHAPTER TWO - METHODOLOGY

2.1 Choosing ONE francophone identity

On April 20, 1996 I attended a meeting of the General Council of the AFG for the first time. The General council included members of the Steering Committee, the *chefs de mission* and members of the Administrative Council. Some time had been allocated on the agenda for me to introduce myself, talk about my research project and about my ongoing participant/observation of the process of organizing the Games. After I talked about the purpose of my research, I asked all organizers to complete a short-answer questionnaire. I wanted to obtain some general information about them. I also wanted to validate this questionnaire before I administered it at the 1996 Games. As they were going through the questions, some issues arose concerning francophone identity. I specified that to the question, *"Quel terme t'identifie le mieux: Franco-Albertaine/Franco-Albertain, Francophone, Canadien français/Canadienne-française, Albertain/Albertaine, Canadien/Canadienne, Francophile?"* [1] I was asking them to choose only <u>one</u> term. The objective was to identify <u>the</u> label that was the most appropriate to describe them.

This sparked a discussion on francophone identity and the idea of community. They argued that the definitions of the labels, such as *Franco-Albertain* depend on the context, who they are talking to, where they are, etc. I answered that they should choose according to the meaning they themselves attached to these terms. We then discussed how different people could attribute different meanings to the labels. I indicated that I was aware of this and would take it into account in the analysis of their responses.

Most organizers that day were reluctant to choose only one label to describe their francophone identity. They felt that more than one label of francophoneness identified them, thus they were unable to select only one. They insisted that people have more than one identity. Their argument was not about the plural character of identity associated to different components such as gender, age and social status. Instead, organizers were claiming various affiliations to francophone identity and community and wanted to simultaneously choose "francophone", "Franco-Albertain", "Canadian français" and more. Faced with their resistance to choosing a single label, I then asked them to rank the labels that described them the best, starting with the most appropriate label. This resolved the issue and they completed the questionnaire.

Except for one *chef de mission*: She refused to fill out the questionnaire because she was uncomfortable with assigning a label to herself. Definitions of francophone identity were variable and she was skeptical about the use of such information for me. How would I interpret the answers I would obtain through these kinds of questions and what would I do with these results? It was sufficiently contentious for her to object to being attributed an identity, or rather a label of identity whose meanings were variable.

Her point was that labels are important, they include and exclude different people. But this only became clear to me a few months later when a proposal to change the name of the AFG was put forward at the annual general meeting. I learned then that she,

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[1] "Which term identifies you best: Franco-Albertan, Francophone, French Canadian, Albertan, Canadian, Francophile?"

among others, had raised this point earlier--that is, before the meeting on April 20. Those who asked for a name change felt that 'francophone' did not include all French speakers involved as participants or volunteers. She, for one, believed that *Jeux francophones de l'Alberta* did not include her. It should be no surprise then that she was uncomfortable with my questionnaire: The issue of labels was already a problem for her!

Although I theoretically understood identity as complicated, I was still perplexed by the turn of events that day. While I was concerned with the definition of the francophone, I had not expected the issue to be problematical at such an early stage in the data collection. But I should not have been surprised since I was well aware that the issue is salient in contemporary francophone communities. Thus, from the start of the fieldwork, I was confronted with the complexity of francophone identity and its potential sensitiveness, since its meanings determine one's inclusion in, or exclusion from, the community.

This discussion with organizers and *chefs de mission* emphasized the multiplicity of identity, or rather of francophone identity. We did not raise the fact that they have other identities as well. In fact, individual identity is plural. Other identities are also at play in the context of the Games such as youth, adult, woman, teacher, student, spouse, boyfriend, Catholic, urban dweller, heterosexual, parent and more. For instance, the AFG and FJA's activities are understood as being organized *par et pour les jeunes* [2]. However, teenagers taking part in the Games viewed organizers as adults while leaders of other provincial francophone organizations such as l'*Association canadienne-française de l'Alberta* (ACFA) and the *Société acadienne* conceived of AFG organizers as youths! And AFG organizers conceived of themselves as young adults. They did not quite fit in the 'adult' category, or rather they did not want to take on that label. Yet, they also differentiated themselves from the participants of the activities they organize. While acknowledging that identity is plural and that other aspects of their identity besides their 'francophoneness' were produced, re-affirmed and contested in the context of the AFG, this research specifically focuses on francophone identity.

I wanted to further my understanding of the various definitions of the francophone and the relationships between these definitions in the production of the community. I wanted to examine how, in the context of the Games, meanings are produced about the francophone. What are the criteria that define an individual as a francophone? Who is a member of the francophone community and on what grounds? How are these definitions of the francophone and the community produced in the context of a sport event?

I realize that my use of the term 'francophone' to invoke the concept of francophoneness can be confusing since it overlaps with its use in other contexts, namely the interviews and documents I analyzed for this research. I use 'francophone' to refer to all types of identities associated to francophoneness as well as affiliations individuals may develop towards the socially constructed French-speaking community in Alberta. It thus includes such labels as Franco-Albertan, French Canadian, francophone, francophile and bilingual. I use the concept 'francophone' in a very broad manner. In Butler's (1990) terms, I attempt to open it and consider all possible meanings. Yet, while I seek to

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[2] "by and for youth"

broaden the meaning of francophoneness, my research shows how members of the community[3] produce definitions of the francophone that limit and restrict it.

The purpose of this chapter is to outline the methodology I have used to study the different types of francophones produced at the AFG. The first part of the chapter presents the theoretical assumptions that inform my understanding of identity. As I stated in the Introduction, my research is set in the cultural studies tradition. I am particularly interested in the relationships between social identities and cultural practices. Nelson, Treichler and Grossberg (1992) explain that by not taking identity for granted, authors in cultural studies have destabilized categories of identity and emphasized their social construction as opposed to essentialist definitions of identity. They further argue that

> [c]ultural studies undertakes the much more difficult project of holding identities in the foreground, acknowledging their necessity and potency, examining their articulation and rearticulation, and seeking a better understanding of their function. (Nelson, Treichler and Grossberg, 1992, p. 18)

I understand francophone identity as complex and always changing. In this perspective, postructuralism, and particularly Foucaldian discourse theory, has been helpful for studying francophone identity and its variability between different discourses. It proves to be an appropriate way to approach the various meanings and definitions of francophoneness. The second part of the chapter describes the process of data collection. This ethnography relied on participant observation, interviews, questionnaires and document analysis to identify the various meanings attributed to the francophone in the context of the AFG and to examine the effects of sport on the production of a minority identity. In the final part of this chapter, I discuss the research process in terms of my own relationships with the community and organizers.

2.2 Discourse analysis and francophone studies

Discourse analysis can help us understand how certain labels and practices are associated with what it means to be a francophone. In addition, the study of discourses offers further insight into the processes of inclusion and exclusion that determine membership in a community. I draw on Foucault's theory on discourse to try to identify the statements or 'truths' about the francophone that are circulated at the AFG. This study does not attempt to reproduce Foucault's archaeology (1969, 1971) by identifying the rules of the discourses constituting knowledge on francophoneness. Nor is it an attempt at demonstrating the genealogy of francophoneness by studying the articulation of power and knowledge in discourses producing the francophone. As distinct from Foucault's middle work such as Discipline and punish or The history of sexuality (Vol. 1), this research is not a history of francophone discourses and the subjectification of French speakers. Rather, this research assumes the power/knowledge nexus of francophone discourse and focuses on the discursive meanings of francophoneness at the AFG.

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[3] While my doctoral work focuses on how francophone identity and community is defined within the community, I recognize that discourses outside the community also produce the francophone.

My project is a study of the definitions of the francophone produced over the course of one cycle of the AFG, from 1996 to 1997. I have tried to unravel the discursive 'truths' produced within the community. I also wanted to start thinking about how youths make sense of themselves in the context of these discourses. I am drawing on Foucault's work and other poststructuralists such as Butler (1991, 1993) and Weedon (1987) to analyze how the francophone is talked about, what 'truths' produce francophone identity. Their work is informative in better understanding the fluidity, complexity and multiplicity of identities.

Sociological work in francophone studies does recognize that identity and community are social constructions. But, the predominant approach in this body of work is to conceive of these communities as ethnic groups. The writings of Danielle Juteau and Raymond Breton have been mentioned above as major contributions to this body of literature (see also Boudreau and Nielsen, 1994; Cardinal, 1994). Juteau-Lee (1983a) explains that an individual is not born ethnic, he or she becomes ethnic. This identity is not a question of nature but the result of a social construction, both subjective and objective (Juteau-Lee 1983a, 1983b, 1994). On the one hand, the francophone identity is a subjective construct, involving a personal sense of belonging to, and identification with, in this case, the francophone community of Alberta. According to this view, identification with the community is rooted in shared culture, and in personal involvement and solidarities that result from shared experiences in the community's struggles to survive. On the other hand, the objectivity of francophone identity refers to shared distinctive physical or cultural traits and practices, such as French Canadian ethnicity, French language and Catholic faith. The construction of francophone communities as minorities also refers to the objective dimension of francophone identity. It is associated with the relationships of francophones in the larger social context: specifically their unequal access to political, economic and legal resources within Alberta and Canadian society (Juteau-Lee, 1980; Juteau 1994).

Juteau-Lee (1983b) contends that all individuals are ethnic. However, only those groups differing from the majority or those groups not in power inherit the ethnic label. The classification of a group as ethnic thus implies minority status, since majority groups are seldom identified as ethnic. The ethnic minority status of francophone communities in Canada results from their relation to anglophone majorities in most Canadian provinces. According to Juteau (1994), ethnic relations are therefore relations of power and inequality, relations that organize groups according to a social hierarchy. Francophone communities are relegated to minority status in social and political relations, since they do not possess or control the instruments necessary to reproduce or not reproduce themselves as communities of history and culture (Juteau-Lee, 1983b).

Both Juteau and Breton conceive of francophone communities as constituted through social relationships. However, Juteau's analysis emphasizes the notion of shared history and culture, while Breton's work focuses on the construction and maintenance of francophone and ethnic communities through political projects. To counter acculturation of francophones to the majority group, Breton (1985) emphasizes the importance of fostering francophone identity by developing a sense of attachment to the community. Like Juteau-Lee (1983b), Breton (1985, 1994) argues that francophone identity is a choice, a subjective phenomenon. For instance, francophones choose to integrate into the social structure of the francophone community of Alberta, or if born into the group, they

can decide to withdraw. The decision to withdraw or to identify with the community may, or may not, be conscious. It is influenced by the individual's personal characteristics, his or her aspirations and goals, and also by the demographic, social, economic and political context in which he or she constructs a family, professional and sociocultural life (Breton, 1994).

Breton's analysis focuses on the relationships within the minority group since he conceives of identification with the community as a product of social relations. He mainly studies the institutional network structuring the interactions between members of the francophone community. He views the degree of the "sense of belonging" to the collectivity, in other words community cohesion, as crucial. Emphasizing the autonomy of cultural communities, Breton developed the concept of institutional completeness (1964, 1983, 1985), a term which refers to the social organization of minority groups and to their capacity to mobilize resources in order to build their own network of institutions.

Breton (1983) also conceives of the ethnic community as a political community with its own political activity. The understanding of the francophone community as a political entity presumes that the community evolves within a larger Albertan and Canadian society whose vast set of institutions exert an important influence on it. However, the minority can still establish its own institutions and political activity is important in building these and gaining access to resources. The political action of organizations and members of the community becomes an instrument of influence as it controls the direction of public affairs in a particular domain of social life.

Breton (1983) identifies four processes implied in the government of the ethnic community. Together, these processes will affect community members' capacity to make choices and to achieve collective projects. One of these processes he describes pertains to the definition of collective identity. As a social product, evolving from choices and actions, francophone identity adapts and changes over time, since the options and decisions continually change and evolve. According to Breton's approach, collective identity has a socio-political dimension that points to how power struggles and attempts to impose a particular view of the community produce the collective identity and progressively legitimize certain collective representations. This socio-political dimension also suggests that identity is a necessary condition for the realization of collective projects like the AFG. Thus, francophone studies are concerned with issues of social relationships--on the one hand relationships within the community producing francophone identity, and, on the other hand, relationships between francophones and the state that define their minority status. This body of work acknowledges that francophone identity and community are not a static phenomenon. My aim is to further study the complexity of francophone identities.

Individual identity is a dynamic process where one's different allegiances may be congruent or in conflict. French speakers' identities are plural and hybrid as well as fluid: they are constantly being reinvented. My research is concerned with the idea that the francophone is reproduced within the context of power relationships. The Games, as an event gathering French speakers who have different kinds of affiliations with the francophone community, provided a setting to study different francophone identities as they interact and are re-invented. I specifically focused on the circulated 'truths' about the francophone and membership in the community. These 'truths' are the discursive resources through which francophones come to make sense of who and what they are. It

is with reference to these definitions, that organizers, volunteers and participants recognize themselves as francophones or not, and identify others as francophones or 'other'. Such accepted 'truths' about francophoneness are socially constructed; they are not linked to a so-called essence of francophone identity. Rather, identity and community are concepts produced in discourse (Butler, 1991, 1993; Weedon, 1987). Using a Foucaldian perspective, I argue that discourse connects knowledge about the francophone with the exercise of power.

> This form of power applies itself to immediate everyday life which categorizes the individual, marks him by his own individuality, attaches him to his own identity, imposes a law of truth on him which he must recognize and which others have to recognize in him. (Foucault, 1983: 212).

Power and knowledge go hand in hand: power relations are linked to a field of knowledge, but at the same time this field of knowledge assumes and creates power relations (Johnson, 1990). Discourse links the exercise of power to the acceptance of a 'truth' concerning francophone identity. Power stems from, and supports, "a complex system of production and distribution of knowledge which, once in circulation, acquires a truth value" (Leps, 1992, p. 3). Identity is not a given reality; it is constructed from information and beliefs promoted by institutions and legitimized by institutions. Foucault's work demonstrates how institutionalized discourse produces the resources by which we conceive the self. Discourse constructs the self's "obligations and responsibilities, its possibilities of action, its essential and peripheral elements, and its relationships to others and to the institutions in which it is embedded" (Frohmann, 1994, p.134).

This case study examines 'truths' promoted within the community, by francophone organizations such as the ACFA, FJA and the SJFA, and articulated in the context of the AFG. My research argues that two sets of 'truths', two discourses, produce the francophone in the context of the Games. The 'truths' of the first discourse claim that the francophone is an individual who speaks French while the second discourse adds that being francophone also implies participating in a specific cultural heritage. Dichotomous segments that further complicate the definitions of the francophone traverse these two discourses. These discourses and their delimiting segments will be described more fully in Chapter Five.

In discourse, power is neither possessed nor acquired. It is impersonal. The exercise of power, for Foucault (1983) is aimed at influencing the actions and ways of behaving of others. Power, in the Foucaldian sense then is productive. It produces identities, practices, ideas and ways of being. It produces the francophone. Its intent is to 'conduct' or 'lead' the behaviors and practices of individuals and groups. In fact, power is a question of government:

> This word [government] must be allowed the very broad meaning which it had in the sixteenth century. "Government" did not refer only to political structures or to the management of states; rather it designated the way in which the conduct of individuals or of groups

> might be directed: the government of children, of souls, of communities, of families, of the sick. It did not only cover the legitimately constituted forms of political or economic subjection, but also modes of action, more or less considered and calculated, which were destined to act upon the possibilities of action of other people. To govern, in this sense, is to structure the possible field of action of others. The relationship proper to power would not therefore be sought on the side of violence or of struggle, not on that of voluntary linking (all of which can, at best, only be the instruments of power), but rather in the area of the singular mode of action, neither warlike nor juridical, which is government. (Foucault, 1983, p. 221).

In a francophone community whose leaders and organizations are preoccupied with the continuity of community, governing francophones involves: trying to ensure that they develop and sustain an attachment to the community; fostering francophone identity; working to attract more members in the community; and it also means encouraging francophones to participate in community social activities and institutions. The exercise of power within the community produces actions and practices such as reading *Le Franco*, attending the annual *Cabane à sucre*, sending one's children to francophone schools, volunteering at the AFG, and taking up membership in the ACFA.

In this context, discourses provide the script to one's performance of francophoneness. They produce a nomenclature of identities connecting to various forms of practice of, and relationship to, the French language. It is not that the French language is the essence of the francophone, rather that these discourses, articulated in the context of the Games, establish the 'truth' about the francophone as one who speaks, or at the least can communicate, in French. Although all identities are continually reproduced and open to change, as, for example, Butler (1990, 1993) demonstrates in the case of gender and sexual identities, the power exercised in certain of these discourses produces identities that are lived as if they were 'natural'. Such is the effect of discursive power that it produces 'truths' about individuals and their identities that are hard to contest. Foucault's work on discipline has argued that 'truths' are socially produced, yet they are taken for granted and unquestioned. In the case of the discourses about the francophone at the AFG, the basic 'truth' about francophoneness is its connection to French language.[4]

Foucault's work on the complex pattern of power/knowledge relationships reveals how the individual subject is produced in discourse. Power

> makes individuals subjects. There are two meanings of the word *subject*: subject to someone else by control and dependence, and tied to his own identity by a conscience of self-knowledge. Both meanings suggest a form of power which subjugates and makes subject to. (Foucault, 1983, p. 212).

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[4] This means, for instance, that a French Canadian descendant who has inherited French Canadian culture but is not a French speaker can with difficulty contest the definition of francophone that excludes him. Whereas Albertans of Ukrainian origins, for instance, can claim a hyphenated cultural identity such as Ukrainian-Canadian even if they do not speak Ukrainian.

Weedon (1987) explains that the terms "subject" and "subjectivity" are central to poststructuralist theory and point to the social construction of individual identity. In discourse theory, the subject is produced in language and is in constant process of being produced and reproduced. Identity, understood as subjectivity, is precarious and contradictory.

> The individual is both the site for a range of possible forms of subjectivity and, at any particular moment of thought or speech, a subject, subjected to the regime of meaning of a particular discourse and enabled to act accordingly. (Weedon, 1987, p. 34)

The francophone is the site of struggles between different subjectivities/identities. For instance, Chapter Seven will argue that young French speakers take up positions not only in francophone discourses but also in other discourses, linked in particular to popular culture and Canadian nationalism, that organize and structure their identity practices. Therefore, they have to continually think about francophone identity and work at it if they wish to preserve it.

It is by creating francophone subjectivity that francophone discourses categorize French speakers and govern, or at least try to direct, their practices. French speakers are not coerced into engaging in the practices producing them as francophones. They act as francophones affiliating with the community and speak French because they accept 'truths' circulated about francophoneness. Since they recognize themselves as francophones, they engage in those practices that francophones are meant to follow. As Weedon (1987) explains, discourse structures social institutions, modes of thought and individual subjectivity where "(s)ubjectivity is most obviously the site of the consensual regulation of individuals. This occurs through the identification by the individual with particular subject positions within discourses." (p. 112).

Francophone identities are always open to transformation as sites of struggle and potential change. Indeed, Foucault's conception of power implies a 'free' subject.

> When one defines the exercise of power as a mode of action upon the actions of others, when one characterizes these actions by the government of men by other men--the broadest sense of the term--one includes an important element: freedom. Power is exercised only over free subjects, and only insofar as they are free. By this we mean individual or collective subjects who are faced with a field of possibilities in which several ways of behaving, several reactions and diverse comportments may be realized. (1983, p. 221)

Individuals are 'free' to accept or reject identities/subjectivities, but only among possible subject positions offered in existing discourses. French speakers may hold various subject positions that inscribe them in the francophone community or exclude them from its membership. Organizers, volunteers and participants at the Games may perform different ways of affiliating with the francophone community. They would then be choosing among different 'truths' about the community and their identity. As well, they may also dissociate themselves from the community. In doing so, French speakers may

reject identities attributed to them through discourses producing francophone communities, and choose instead to identify with Canada's larger society and institutions.

The question of choice between discursive possibilities is also constrained by how others will recognize French speakers. French speakers may be able to perform as anglophones and thus distance themselves in some important ways from francophone identity. But they can not necessarily reject some of their attributes such as their accent, their surname or their cultural origins. While some youths--and some adults, too--can speak without accents in both languages, many AFG organizers, francophone leaders and older generations do speak English with a discernible French accent. This linguistic marker identifies them as French-speakers, or at the least, as non-anglophones. As much as one may want to perform a different identity, one is still subject to discourses that will identify her as francophone.

2.2.1 The performativity of identity

Butler (1991, 1993) draws on Foucaldian discourse analysis to discuss gender and sexual identities. She explains that identities are performative and produced through regulatory practices. In this perspective, one comes to accept the 'truth' about one's identity by repetitive regulatory practices structured by discourse. Butler (1993, p. 2) argues that the performative dimension of identity refers to the "reiterative power of discourse to produce the phenomena that it regulates and constrains". Butler writes about gender identities, but the argument can be extended to the francophone.

> Gender proves to be performative--that is, constituting the identity it is purported to be. In this sense, gender is always a doing, though not a doing by a subject who might be said to preexist the deed. (Butler, 1990, p. 25)

Thus subjectivity/identity is not defined in language according to an essential identity. Rather, discourse preexists the subject. Discourse produces subjectivity/identity since it is in language that we learn modes of thinking about ourselves (Weedon, 1987).

It is through repeated actions governed through the deployment of francophone discourse that the French speaker comes to think of her francophoneness as her essence. Such discursive practices include speaking French when among French speakers, eating *tourtière* at Christmas, participating in the AFG, and tuning in to CHFA, the *Société Radio-Canada* radio station in Edmonton. The French speaker becomes a francophone by doing the francophone. Repeated actions produce and confirm 'truths' about francophoneness. Organizers of the Games, for instance, come to think of themselves as francophones through their involvement in francophone associations, through their personal relationships with other francophones, by supporting community institutions such as schools, Radio-Canada, and most of all by speaking French and trying to live at least part of their life in French. These are not isolated or rare practices. They are constantly reproduced.

The francophone is produced through the regulatory practices she engages in over and over again. In fact, the performativity of identity presumes repeated acts. In discussing the discursive production of the category 'women', Butler (1990) explains that

> "... the action of gender requires a performance that is *repeated.* This repetition is at once a reenactment and reexperiencing of a set of meanings already socially established; and it is the mundane and ritualized form of their legitimation." (p. 140)

It is through doing the francophone that one's francophoneness is "established, instituted, circulated and confirmed" (Butler, 1991, p. 18) It is also because identity is a repeated performance that it is unstable, open to contest and resistance.

2.2.2 The hybridity of youth identity

If identity is a performance, the French speaker disciplined in francophone discourse performs the practices that define and produce francophoneness. Yet, francophone discourses are competing against other discourses over the subjectivity of French speakers. Identity is plural: francophones have multiple identities related to aspects of themselves other than their francophoneness, such as their gender, their sexual orientation, their profession, their social class and their age. Identity is also hybrid (Young, 1995). Hybridity refers to the fact that French speakers can take on subject positions in different discourses. In the context of the francophone, this specifically points to the mix of two subjectivities/identities within one identity category. Hybridity describes the merging of francophone and anglophone subjectivity.

Hybridity is a concept which appropriately describes contemporary youth identities. Today's French-speaking youths may identify with more than one ethnic label, since their parents and grandparents do not always share the same cultural origins. Thus, Alberta teenagers may inherit different family traditions such as French Canadian, Ukrainian, German, British or other. More importantly, French-speaking teenagers take up practices of English language popular culture, regardless of their cultural heritage. In Canada, young French speakers engage, at the least, in practices associated with francophoneness and in others linked to anglophoneness. But their practices should not be reduced to the French language vs. English language dichotomy. They draw on different cultures, whether it be their taste in food, music, dress, television programs or leisure activities. In their day to day activities, they mix various cultural practices, creating their own sense of self as cultural and linguistic hybrids. Friedman (1995, p. 83) reminds us that

> Cultures don't flow together and mix with each other. Rather, certain actors, often strategically positioned actors, identify the world in such terms as part of their own self-identification. Cultural mixture is the effect of the practice of mixed origins.

Hybridity thus refers to the process by which young French speakers take up practices from different cultures and define themselves according to this cultural mix. In this

sense, identity becomes more complex in the increasing globalized world, as young French speakers, for instance, assert their loyalty to the francophone community yet, at the same time, engage in cultural practices that demonstrate that they also share in global, commercialized and mediatized values and lifestyles.

Pieterse (1995) notes that hybridity is based on the assumption of difference between cultures. Paradoxically, the concept also points to the similarity between them if they can be merged. Hybridity points to the blending of cultures, not their separateness. Young (1995) explains that hybridity denotes the "intricate processes of cultural contact, intrusion, fusion and disjunction." (p. 5). Hybridity does not imply the merging of two stable cultures or identities (Young, 1995; Pieterse, 1995). As this research will demonstrate, the francophone in Canada today undergoes continual reinvention. At the AFG, the instability of 'francophoneness' results from the competing definitions of two conflicting francophone discourses. At its simplest, the debate is between 'truths' establishing the francophone as one who speaks French and 'truths' that define the francophone as a French speaker who shares a particular history and culture.

Even the culture alluded to in the cultural discourse here is not static. French Canadian ethnic culture is a *mélange* of, at the least, French and native practices incorporated in a French Canadian way of life. This way of life was adapted to the changing circumstances of French Canadians. For instance, with Irish and Scottish immigration to Quebec, French Canadians incorporated 'reels' into their music and dancing, making reels part of their own culture, just as they had borrowed from native practices in creating the *cabane à sucre*. Following the 1960s, French Canadian culture has been reduced to folk traditions in the Alberta francophone community. In Quebec, French Canadian culture was modernized and re-invented as *culture québécoise* where French Canadian traditions have also been given the label of *traditions québécoises*. In Alberta, French Canadian traditions are still salient and celebrated to various degrees, but a contemporary francophone or French Canadian culture has not been discursively established. As we will see in Chapter Five, speakers of the cultural francophone discourse can not define the culture that all francophones are believed to share. This difficulty in defining this so-called common culture is, I would argue, partly a result of the constant reproduction of culture, and partly a consequence of the absence of a discursive articulation of a contemporary francophone culture in Alberta.

In this research, I use the concept of hybridity to specifically refer to the disjunction, transformation of these two unstable identities (francophone and anglophone) into a new, again unstable, identity. "Hybridity unsettles the introverted concept of culture which underlies romantic nationalism, racism, ethnicism, religious revivalism, civilizational chauvinism, and culturalist essentialism" (Pieterse, 1995, p. 64). It is heterogeneous and discontinuous. Young (1995) refers to Bhabha's (1994) conception of hybridity where the identities coming together into one are not previously settled into primordial polarities.

> The margin of hybridity, where cultural differences 'contingently' and conflictually touch, becomes the moment of panic which reveals the borderline experience. It resists the binary opposition of racial and cultural groups (...) as homogeneous polarized political consciousnesses. (Bhabha, 1994, p. 207)

Indeed, francophone and anglophone identities are not static. They continually change and shift. What hybridity implies however, is a disruption and forcing together of these two changing but distinct, I would even say opposed, identities. Francophone identity is contrasted with anglophone identity in most identity discourses in Canada. The francophone speaks French (and may be bilingual, but English will remain a second language, not as comfortable and not as meaningful to self-identification). The anglophone speaks English.

As we will see in Chapter Seven, francophone youth identities, in particular, illustrate this idea of hybridity, the merging of francophone and anglophone identities into a single identity. French and English are meaningful to these youths' sense of self. They continually shift from one language to another and engage in different identifying practices that constitute them as both, as francophone and anglophone. However, as Pieterse (1995) stresses,

> Relations of power are inscribed and reproduced *within*[5] hybridity for wherever we look closely enough we find the traces of asymmetry in culture, place, descent. Hence, hybridity raises the question of the terms of mixture, the conditions of mixing and mélange. At the same time it's important to note the ways in which hegemony is not merely reproduced but *refigured*[6] in the process of hybridization. (p. 57)

The hybridity of francophone identities, then, does not assume that francophoneness is equally blended with anglophoneness. The concept of hybridity is particularly germane when pointing to the difference between teenage participants at the AFG and organizers and volunteers. The repeated mix of youths' francophone and anglophone practices is more pronounced and points to a different identity production than that of most organizers.

2.2.3 Identity and community

Organizers of the AFG established a connection between encouraging youth to produce themselves as francophones and ensuring the development of the francophone community. In other words, they assumed that if one identifies as a francophone, he or she would contribute to the continuance of the community. Identity and community were also presumably connected in the larger FJCF francophone sport project, the *Jeux de la francophonie canadienne*. The purpose of both, the AFG and the pan-Canadian francophone sport project, was primarily to sustain the development of the community. It was hoped that his would be achieved by promoting francophone identity.

Youths were to recognize themselves as francophones, and not only take on the label, but also assume their place in the community, take on the responsibilities of the francophone as they are stipulated in contemporary francophone discourses. Those responsibilities are to ensure the survival of the community by taking part in its social

[5] Emphasized in the original.
[6] Emphasized in the original.

life, and supporting francophone institutions. This is how francophone identity and community were linked in the staging of the AFG[7], and this is why the concepts of 'francophone identity' and 'francophone community' were used interchangeably by organizers and leaders of the community. At the Games, one went with the other. Bouchard (1996) has also discovered that in the production of the francophone community in Alberta, the future of one's francophoneness is constructed as unseparable from the survival of the community.

Identity and community, however, are two different things. I understand, as noted above, identity as subjectivity. The subjectivity of the French speaker as a francophone is produced as the French speaker takes on a subject position in francophone discourses. As Butler (1990) argues, subjectivity/identity can be contested or rejected because different subject positions are available within discourses and between discourses. At the AFG, the empirical data reveals different meanings of francophoneness as two discourses compete to define the subjectivity of French speakers. Francophone identities are a site of conflict since not all French speakers want to take it on nor do they all agree on its definition.

However, as Butler (1990) argues in the case of gender identities, the category 'community' is often produced as normative and exclusive. Francophone community, thus, as a discursive category, functions as an instrument of the regulatory regime about francophoneness. It is through the construction of the community that the regime of 'truth' about the francophone is deployed. The insistence on constructing a coherent community goes against the multiplicity of cultural, social and political intersections that produce a variety of definitions of the francophone. The normative dimension of community conceals other ways of being a francophone, because it is associated with a particular version of a specific francophone discourse[8]. The issues concerning the production of a homogeneous community that conceals the differences between subjectivities/identities has been noted in gender studies (Alcoff, 1988; Butler, 1990, 1991; Phelan, 1991; Young, 1990) and in francophone studies (Cardinal 1994; Lafontant, 1994, 1998; Breton, 1994)[9].

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[7] The idea of community is not only local or provincial. In fact, organizers assume a link between identification to the Alberta francophone community, and to a national francophone identity/community with the *Jeux de la francophonie canadienne*. One of the organizers explains that their original vision was to organize provincial games in the Western provinces, followed by the *Jeux de l'Ouest*, and finally the *Jeux de la francophonie canadienne* (SJFA/Ef, 1997). It even goes beyond a national identity since they hope to eventually send a delegation chosen from the participants of the *Jeux de la francophonie canadienne* to the international event, *Jeux de la francophonie* (SJFA, 1994). In this sense, francophone identity is not only presumably linked to the provincial community, or to a national identity that need to be sustained, but also to an international francophonie.

[8] As mentioned above, the francophone discourses and their dichotomies that serve to exclude French-speakers from the community will be outlined in Chapter Five.

[9] For instance, on the issue of the dynamic interaction between individual identities and the collective identity of the francophone community, Lafontant (1994) cautions that individual identity is more complex than collective identity. The individual identity, he explains, is constructed from multiple allegiances, sometimes different, sometimes even contradictory, and freely casts itself in the future as much as it refers to its past. In comparison, collective identities are more rigid and are created from a limited number of traditional attributes or produced by the social environment. The community's identity calls for unity among its members and defines the criteria of membership. Unlike the individual francophone, organizations representing the community, such as FJA or the ACFA, can hardly claim to have a plural identity. Therefore, the community seeks a certain stability. It attempts to integrate its members and does

Not all French speakers, who recognize themselves as francophones, wish to identify with the community since various 'truths' of francophone discourses promote a restricted and exclusive definition of the community and francophoneness. This is precisely the issue illustrated in the incident I related at the beginning of this chapter. The Games were viewed as a community event, but not all French speakers involved were conceived of, or conceived of themselves, as members of this community. The *chef de mission* did not want to take on a label of which she could not control the meaning. The exclusion of French speakers by the name "Alberta Francophone Games" was also the problem that lead to the call for a new name for the Games. At issue was the fact that "francophone" refers to a discursive category, a francophone community. Yet, the Games are open to all French speakers some of whom did not recognize themselves as included in the community. They recognized their eligibility for the Games, but did not 'fit' in the community. The political problem of community is that it supposes that the label "francophone" refers to a shared identity. However, French speakers do not all have the same relationships to the French language or to others who speak it.

At the AFG, it is in community building that the francophone subjectivity is created. Francophone discourses are intended to produce francophone subjects as participants in the community, as defenders of the community. Responsibilities are attached to being a francophone to ensure the existence of the collectivity. Yet issues concerning a differentiation between individual identity and community arise in this research because francophone discourses attempt to produce a homogeneous category of 'francophone community'. That is, official 'truths' about francophone community construct it as coherent. The statement "The community is composed of all those who have French as a first language" produces a stable francophone community. However, the discursive analysis of the AFG reveals that different 'truth' statements offer different definitions of the community. For instance, a second statement contradicts the criteria of French as mother tongue for inclusion in the community. It states instead that the community is composed of all French speakers, regardless of the status of French as a first, second or other language.

To analyze the incoherence and instability of francophone identity and community is to better understand the changes affecting it. What are the norms about francophone community and what oppositions do they produce? This research examines the norms francophone leaders and AFG organizers and volunteers articulated, and how youth participants resisted some of these 'truths'. It is thus a study of the 'truths' francophones establish about themselves, and of how they define the category 'community'. My intent is to unravel the discursive 'truths' about francophone identity and community that structured the practices of organizers, volunteers and youths involved in the AFG.

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not tolerate well the ambiguity of multiple allegiances and relative adaptability possible in terms of individual identities. (This is why Cardinal (1994) talks about the "*sacro-sainte unité pour la cause*", that is the emphasis in francophone communities to suppress difference and dissent in order to present a common front in the fight for the francophone cause.) Lafontant's commentary coincides with Young's (1990) critique of the ideal of community. This ideal, she argues, is politically problematic since differences within the membership are masked. Furthermore, non-identification to the community based on a political identity could lead to an explicit exclusion of certain individuals or sub-groups. According to Young (1990), the community's aspiration for unity and mutual identification in social relations also serves as a process of exclusion.

2.3 Research methods

4 mars 1996:
- message de Sylvie Francoeur (employée de la Société) pour m'informer de la conférence de presse pour les Jeux qui aura lieu demain à St. Albert

5 mars 1996:
- j'ai téléphoné à Sylvie Francoeur
- je n'avais pas vraiment l'intention d'assister à la conférence de presse (je commence l'observation/participante seulement aux Jeux du mois de mai; j'avais une autre réunion au campus)
- bien que je ne prévoyais pas me rendre à la conférence de presse je voulais une copie du communiqué de presse
- Sylvie semblait déçue que je ne compte pas me rendre à la conférence de presse; elle m'a offert un tour de voiture pour que je puisse m'y rendre
- j'ai senti qu'on s'attendait à ce que j'y sois
- donc, j'y suis allé[10] (Dallaire, 1996-1997, p. 1)

From the outset of my fieldwork, I already had an effect on the organizers just as they also influenced my research. I could not pretend to be an outside observer studying, from a distance, the process of staging the AFG. Early on in the data collection, I became part of the Games. More than a physical presence, I was involved in the AFG: I attended meetings, I was at the Games, I met francophones to interview them about the AFG and the community, I publicly spoke about the Games on the radio, at conferences in and outside Alberta. To a certain extent, I felt pulled into the Games. Other French speakers identified me with the Games. Moreover, organizers viewed me as one of them. That is, they conceived of me as a francophone who believes in the AFG, in youth and in the importance of sustaining the francophone community.

I had not anticipated that I would become so involved with the AFG and organizers. I even resisted being identified with the Games. Yet, like many other cultural studies researchers, I embarked in this project as a politically engaged participant (Nelson, Treichler, Grossberg, 1992). I am interested in questions of francophone identity because I conceive of myself as a francophone and wish to ensure that it will be possible for

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[10] "March 4, 1996:
- message from Sylvie Francoeur (employee of SJFA) to let me know about the press conference for the AFG to be held tomorrow in St. Albert
March 5, 1996:
- I called Sylvie Francoeur
- I did not really intend to make it to the press conference (I start the participant/observation only at the May AFG; I had another meeting on campus)
- although I was not planning on attending the press conference, I wanted a copy of the press release
- Sylvie seemed disappointed that I was not going to the press conference; she offered me a ride so that I could get there
- I felt that it was expected that I be there
- so, I went"

myself and others to live our francophoneness in the future. However, although I did participate in some francophone social activities and institutions, I did not necessarily see myself as a 'member' of the Alberta francophone community. It is through my research that I was produced, in others' perception, as a member of the community. This doctoral project was certainly not a case where the researcher came in and took what she needed without changing the process of staging the Games. To a certain extent, my research influenced the organizers and integrated me into the AFG and the community.

That my relationship to the Alberta francophones and the community influenced my research practices, just as it influenced the organizers' practices is consistent with ethnography as a method. This type of research fosters and expects the development of relationships between the 'researcher' and the 'research participants' since it is through these relationships that data is collected, discussed and pre-analyzed. I found myself in an interdependent *rapport* where I depended on the organizers' collaboration to collect data and where they could use my research project to legitimize their work on the AFG. In my doctoral work, I not only wanted to think about francophone identity in theoretical terms, but also develop a better empirical understanding of issues of francophoneness. To get a closer look at the Games and the articulation of francophone discourses, to explore how organizers, volunteers, participants and leaders of provincial associations talked about francophone identity and the community, ethnography was the most appropriate method.

The ethnographic approach in cultural studies stems out of concerns about questions of identity and social relationships (Nelson, Treichler and Grossberg, 1992) and points to a "desire to move beyond theoretical discourses" (During, 1993, p. 20). Cultural studies researchers borrowed from the long tradition of ethnography in qualitative sociology and adapted this method in order to look at their own questions. Indeed, cultural studies research has been described as a *bricolage* (Nelson, Treichler and Grossberg, 1992) drawing ideas from a variety of intellectual sources and fitting them together in new ways. Not only did my own research draw on different bodies of literature, it was based on different forms of empirical evidence and a variety of techniques. I used a qualitative approach to study the AFG and francophone discourses. Although there are various definitions of qualitative research, Denzin and Lincoln (1994, p. 2) propose a general definition:

> Qualitative research is multimethod in focus, involving an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomenon in terms of the meanings people bring to them.

Deslauriers (1991) explains that qualitative research allows for the study of a social phenomenon while respecting its development and fluctuations. Hence, a flexible and inductive method, accounting for the experience and meaning of the studied social phenomenon, characterizes the qualitative approach.

Qualitative research allows the researcher to absorb the subject since it is an intensive process aimed at thoroughly examining the social phenomenon (Deslauriers, 1991). This case study of the Alberta Francophone Games relied on different techniques

to collect empirical evidence. These were: participant/observation, analysis of documents, interviews and questionnaires. The qualitative research process implies a reflexive movement between all stages of the research. Although my own experience and the francophone studies literature provided me with some ideas about the 'truths' producing the francophone, the process of analysis remained open to the emergence of other kinds of knowledge about the francophone. In the same way, the sport studies literature was useful in identifying the kinds of issues at stake when sport is used to promote identity and community but the data analysis contextualized these issues.

These processes of data collection and analysis were interwoven throughout the period of data collection. Thus, the analysis was an interactive movement between all research sequences where the data management and verification drove further data collection. These question and answer cycles helped uncover the discourses and their dichotomies with the use of analytic induction. As Huberman and Miles (1994) explain, qualitative research procedures mix inductive and deductive analyses. "When a theme, hypothesis, or pattern is identified inductively, the researcher then moves into a verification mode, trying to confirm or qualify the finding" (p. 431). Qualitative analysis leads to an interpretation, from analytical categories, which emphasizes and describes the particularities of the data (Landry, 1992). It is by returning, many times, to the documents, field notes, questionnaire results and interview transcripts that I was able to bring precision and make nuances regarding the 'truths' about the francophone and the issues arising from the intersection between sport and identity.

2.3.1 Data collection

The ethnographic phase lasted a little over a year from March 1996 until August 1997 and covered a full cycle of the AFG. During this year, I followed the schedule of organizers, volunteers and francophone leaders to attend meetings, conduct interviews and analyze documents. I also had to be flexible as I faced organizational constraints in administering my questionnaires.[11] The various data collection techniques I used were intertwined with the analytical process. A preliminary analysis of a selection of the SJFA's documents as well as my observation of the May 1996 games guided the data collection during the subsequent 14 months. I had planned to end the data collection shortly after the May 1997 games. But just as I began the data collection earlier than expected, I ended the data collection later than planned. I took part in a few more activities in order to obtain more data, but also because I felt that I owed it to the organizers. They had their own objectives, and expectations of me. Thus I ended my fieldwork at the end of August 1997, after the annual general meeting and the public discussion forum on the AFG. The analysis continued well after the end of the data collection period and is now being completed with the writing process.

I met with the president of the SJFA in November 1994 to talk to him about my proposed doctoral project. At the time, we both happened to be students in the same Faculty. While I was in the graduate program, he was an undergraduate student. We informally met a few times afterwards and he provided me with documents of the SJFA

[11] I had to adapt myself to the process of staging the AFG. The researcher and the research participants develop an interdependent relationship, but I was undoubtedly more dependent on them, than them on me.

and FJA. From our first meeting, he was quite supportive of my research project and was instrumental in integrating me into the group of organizers, thus facilitating my access to documents and to meetings. I also met with the assistant director for information/policy of the *Association canadienne-française de l'Alberta* (ACFA) in the first year of my doctoral program to talk about the research I was planning to undertake and to get some information about the Alberta francophone community. She was also very helpful, informing me about the ACFA and the community, and making some documents available to me.

In April 1996, I officially approached francophone organizations to inform them of my research. After asking the president of the SJFA to meet with the members of the Administrative Council, I was invited to the April 16 meeting. I introduced myself, outlined my doctoral project and asked the authorization to conduct my research: attend meetings, interview organizers, participants and volunteers, distribute a questionnaire and analyze documents. My purpose in presenting my research to the SJFA was to ensure that organizers were fully aware of my endeavors and that they agreed. During this presentation, and throughout this ethnography, I was explicit about the issues the sport literature noted about the use of sport to foster identity. Thus, organizers and volunteers were aware that I intended to examine, among other things, how the sport character of the AFG interacted with the Games' identity formation purpose. They also knew that, based on the literature, I expected some potential conflict between the sport objectives and the francophone objectives. After I left the meeting, the organizers discussed my research project and decided to support it. In May 1996, I met again with the assistant director of the ACFA, and then with the Administrative Council of FJA to officially inform them of my planned doctoral research and to ask them to sign a consent form stating that they were aware of, and supporting, my project[12] (see Appendix 1 for the information letter and consent form). The Administrative Council of both associations agreed to sign the consent form.

I wanted these organizations to be aware of my project, to know that I would be participating at their events as a researcher. I felt it was important that my research be overt. It should be noted that the ACFA assistant director expressed surprise at the fact that I informed associations at the outset of my research and that I was actually "asking their permission" to conduct this research. I explained that I intended to fully inform associations and all participants of my research with regards to my intentions and research purpose. I especially wanted them to be aware of my reasons for taking part in community activities: I was not simply a newly arrived francophone in Alberta wanting to participate in community events, but rather a researcher wanting to understand the different definitions of the francophone.

2.3.1.1 Participant-observation Deslaurier's (1991) account of participant/observation as a data collection technique stresses the "field" dimension and the inductive process of qualitative research. According to him, the researcher's presence in the field is an important feature of the participant/observation technique. My 'inside'

[12] I asked the presidents of the SJFA, FJA and ACFA to sign a consent form because most of my research activities were focused on these associations. The SJFA because it was responsible for the AFG. FJA because it founded the Games. The ACFA, lastly, because it is the self-proclaimed spokesgroup for the Alberta francophone community.

observations of the Games and the community were quite extensive for this research. My field notes represent the written description of what I heard, saw, experienced and thought throughout the data collection process.[13] Field notes can be an important supplement to information gathered with other data collection techniques (Bogdan and Biklen, 1994). My research journal includes information about the participants, volunteers and organizers, an account of conversations, descriptions of physical settings, accounts of particular events, and depiction of activities.

I wrote my observations during and/or after each fieldwork activity such as meetings and interviews. During the 1996 and 1997 Games, I again used a notebook to write field notes, but also tape-recorded my observations using a small microphone and tape recorder. All field notes, hand-written and tape-recorded observations, were transcribed in my research journal. The recurrence of journal entries depends on the frequency of meetings, interviews and francophone activities. For instance, I wrote almost daily entries in my research journal during the weeks preceding the Games while there are only four different entries for the month February 1997. The length of each journal entry varies from 3-5 lines to describe a short conversation or a thought to 8-10 pages to describe a daylong meeting or a day at the AFG. My research journal consists of approximately 225 pages of typewritten, single spaced field notes.

I attended the 1996 St. Albert AFG and the 1997 Falher AFG. Until the 1996 Games, I had never seen the event. It was thus an important time to 'get a feel' for the AFG. My main research activity was simply to observe the Games and interact with volunteers, organizers and participants. At the 1997 Games, I spent most days interviewing participants and thus had less opportunity to simply observe the practices of organizers, volunteers and participants. By then, I was familiar enough with the event and the issues involved. Behaviors that had struck me as unfamiliar now seemed ordinary--such as the participants conversing among themselves in English--but still worthy of note.

Before and during both Games, I attended meetings of the General Council. These meetings were held in the two months leading to the Games and each evening during the event. They included all *chefs de mission*, the Steering Committee and members of the Administrative Council. My fieldwork also involved taking part in SJFA meetings throughout the year. I attended Administrative Council meetings from May 1996 until June 1997 as well as activities this group organized such as the training session for the *chefs de mission*. In the Spring of 1997, I traveled to Falher twice, once for a General Council meeting and once to attend a Steering Committee meeting. I spent more time with the Administrative Council than with the Steering Committee of the Games. The most important reason for this is that it is at the level of the Administrative Council that policy, values and objectives of the SJFA are discussed and decided. The Steering Committee stages the Games according to the principles outlined by the Administrative Council and it is the Administrative Council that has the final say on any major decision such as the budget, the date and time of the AFG. A second factor, that played in my lesser time spent with the local Steering Committee of the 1997 Games is that they were located in Falher, a five hour drive from Edmonton. I did not have the resources necessary to travel regularly to Falher. But I did get there twice before the AFG for important meetings. I also attended most meetings of the committee responsible for the

[13] References to my field notes in the body of the thesis will appear as: (Dallaire, 1996-1997).

annual fundraising golf tournament. Through attending these meetings and other activities of the SJFA, I gained relevant information concerning the political context and the interests of different groups in the production of the Games.

The fieldwork also included attending activities, events and public meetings of francophone associations. The associations included in this study, other than FJA and SJFA, were for the most part provincial associations that represent different groups of French speakers. These were *Francophonie jeunesse Alberta* (FJA), the *Association canadienne-française de l'Alberta* (ACFA), the *Société acadienne de l'Alberta*, the *Association multiculturelle de l'Alberta* (AMFA), the *Fédération des parents francophones de l'Alberta* (FPFA), the *Alliance française* and the *Société pour une école publique à Edmonton*. Among other events, I attended the *Fête franco-albertaine*, the *Saint-Jean Baptiste*, the *Gala albertain de la chanson*, the *Souper aux homards*, an AMFA forum, the FJA General Meeting and twenty-fifth anniversary celebration, and the provincial *Tables de concertation*[14].

At the outset of my research I wanted to stress the 'observation' part of the method as opposed to taking an active role as a participant. Yet, I recognized that the 'participant' aspect of the fieldwork would be salient. My interaction with organizers and other francophone associations could perhaps influence their practices and decisions since they were fully aware of the objectives of my research. For instance, the organizers knew that I was examining the effects of the sport objectives on the promotion of francophoneness at the AFG. The simple knowledge about my interests and the purpose of my research project, added to my questions and ongoing presence at meetings could potentially increase their awareness of the issues I was interested in. Moreover, it could have led them to act on these issues. That is spend more time and effort on questions of French language and francophone identity than they would have if it had not been for my research.

However, the fact that I was at every meeting for a year also made me an ordinary member of the group. Organizers and volunteers were used to my presence at meetings. They joked about my incessant questions and about the small tape-recorder and microphone I carried at the Games to record my observation. It seemed to me that both organizers and volunteers were comfortable around me since they included me in all activities, public and private. At a certain level, it appeared as if I was part of the group, as if I was not an observer, but an organizer too. My name was listed in the attendance record of meetings and my interventions (questions, presentation of conference abstracts, questionnaire results) were recorded in the minutes. In other words, I became more of a participant than an observer in the sense that I was part of the meetings too. For instance, organizers expected me to participate in an Administrative Council ritual at each meeting, when one of us had to provide a "pensée" or "mot clef". In addition, the president of the SJFA decided to include a paragraph in the 1996-1997 annual report of the SJFA about my participation in SJFA activities. She consulted with me in order to write a couple of sentences in the section outlining on-going activities.

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[14] The *tables de concertation* are meetings required by the consultative process established by the Federal government to determine funding and development priorities for the francophone community. The Federal government officially recognizes the ACFA as the spokesgroup of the community. It is therefore in this capacity that the ACFA is responsible for this consultative process

> Il est aussi important de noter que madame Christine Dallaire a participé aux activités de la Société depuis avril 1996 jusqu'à juin 1997. En effet, madame Dallaire examine la production de l'identité francophone auprès des jeunes albertains d'expression française dans le cadre des JFA.[13] (SJFA, 1997d, p. 7)

I never sensed that my presence or increasing role during meetings was a problem for organizers. To the contrary, organizers would have been happy to see me take on a more active role in helping them think and plan the AFG.

Throughout the data collection process, I found it difficult to hold back and refrain from assuming a larger role in meetings. I believed in the idea of organizing a sport event to promote francophoneness and felt I could contribute to the discussions at hand. Already at the first General Council I attended in April 1996, I noted in my research journal that limiting my actions to listening and asking questions instead of participating in discussion required some effort. In July 1996, a new Administrative Council was elected and these organizers invited me to participate more in the process of staging the AFG. They welcomed my input, since I was viewed in some ways as an 'expert': I had finished most of the document analysis, I had conducted some interviews and was thus more informed about the AFG than most organizers; and I was a sport sociologist. They wanted to improve the AFG and felt that all feedback was helpful. From the September meetings and on, I did intervene more during meetings raising points I felt could be relevant. I did not, however, participate in decision making. The most active role I played in meetings of the Administrative Council was to point to the sometimes contradictory practices they engaged in--contradictory in terms of the objectives of the Games. I occasionally challenged the organizers about the instability of their understanding of the community as well as the issues of sport vs. identity and the obviously strong presence of the English language at the AFG. My interventions were related to the purpose of my research. I did not assume organizational responsibilities. Mostly, I was at meetings taking notes and asking questions.

The participant dimension of my research at the AFG is most obviously revealed in the peace-making role I took on at the 1997 AFG. I became the go-between for the *chefs de mission* and the organizers. The first evening of the Games, one *chef de mission* called a meeting of all *chefs de mission* to be held at 22h20, before the General Council meeting. She invited me also. I was the only individual at this 'private' meeting who was not a *chef de mission*. The meeting was held because some *chefs de mission* were frustrated with the turn of events on this first day. They vented their frustrations about things that, according to them, had gone wrong. They were quite upset with organizers. Other *chefs* were relatively satisfied, but did not try to ease the tension. I assumed the role of devil's advocate explaining the organizers' point of view and trying to understand why events had happened this way. I tried my best to sort out the problems, and put them in context. It somehow worked and by the time we left to go to the 23h15 General Council, the *chefs de mission* were no longer frustrated. I could sense when we walked into the meeting room that there were tensions. The organizers were nervous about the

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[13] It is also important to note that Madame Christine Dallaire participated in the *Société*'s activities from April 1996 until June 1997. In fact, Madame Dallaire studies the production of francophone identity among Alberta French-speaking youths in the context of the AFG.

chefs de mission uprising, if I may call it so, and felt threatened by the fact they had not been included in the private meeting. However, the president of the session did not bring it up and the *chefs de mission* did not discuss the issues that had disturbed them. For the rest of the weekend, I was invited every evening to the private *chefs de mission* get-together before the General Council meetings. The president of the SJFA mentioned to me that she was relieved I was at the *chefs de mission's* meetings. It is not that she considered me a spy for the Administrative Council, just that she thought that I would do what I could to resolve problems. And I did.

Obviously, organizers were comfortable with me. And I was at ease with them. I had developed a good *rapport* and felt I was becoming one of them. But I resisted this. Although I was integrated into the Administrative Council, it appears that tensions between the Administrative Council and the Steering Committee or the *chefs de mission* did not include me. As far as I can tell, the *chefs de mission* and members of the Steering Committee trusted me. In this sense, I had access to all levels of the SJFA.

However, I was not as comfortable with participating youths. I may have 'fit in' with organizers, but with teenagers it was a different story. The age difference certainly was a factor. Organizers and I were mostly from the same generation, even if I was a few years older than most of them. But I was at least 10 years older than participants and could not relate to teenage culture. What was the hip music, the fashion, the lingo? In addition, my own experience as a teenager had been so different. Whereas I had lived my life predominantly in French until I left home to go to university, these youths were living a great part of their life in English.

At the 1996 Games, I was somewhat nervous when I talked with participants because I sensed such a rift between us. I felt that they viewed me as an adult, a teacher or as one of the organizers or volunteers. Certainly not as one of them.[16] I talked about my uneasiness with other organizers and volunteers over dinner one evening. They said that although they still considered themselves as young, they definitely were not as young as the participants. To put this in context, I was twenty-seven years old, and organizers were mostly in their early twenties. Participants were twelve to eighteen years old.

Another reason why I was uncomfortable approaching participants to talk with them is that I wanted to ask them questions about the French language, about francophoneness. I was uneasy asking them questions about the French language and francophone identity since they were not speaking French among themselves. Many of the participants were conversing in English. Would I be seen as a teacher reprimanding them for not speaking French? French was imposed on them in the school system and many of these youths were at the AFG with their teachers. The recruitment was done through schools so the Games were conceived to some degree as a school activity. Would I be participating in the imposition of French?

However, when I did speak with teenagers, they answered my questions. But they seemed shy or at least, unsure as to why I wanted to talk with them. At the 1997 Games, interaction with youths was much easier and I noticed that participants were more than happy to answer my questions. But the context was different. At the 1996 AFG, I tried to strike up conversations with teenagers who were watching competitions or chatting

[16] My reaction and uneasiness with the participants surprised me. I had not anticipated this. A few years earlier, I had conducted group interviews with teenagers in Ottawa and Toronto in my role as a research assistant. At that time, I had not felt this distance between the students and I.

among each other. I felt I was intruding on them. At the 1997 Games, I was formally interviewing groups of participants. The interaction was framed and more structured. Indeed, youths I was speaking to were clear on my purpose and role at the AFG and had accepted to participate in a group interview--as opposed to being approached by an inquisitive unknown 'adult'.

Other than my previous uneasiness about interacting with youths, no problem arose to impede the participant/observation fieldwork. The only incident I am aware of that reveals a hesitancy or distrust of organizers towards me or my research is the incident I outlined at the beginning of this chapter concerning the *chef de mission* who refused to fill out my research questionnaire. To my knowledge, this *chef de mission* is the only individual who explicitly decided not to participate in my research. But the *chef* did talk with me during the Games. In fact, she gave me a ride home from St. Albert one night and during the 30-minute drive we talked about the AFG. She seemed more at ease with me than when we first met at the April General Council meeting. Other than this *chef de mission*, all other organizers and volunteers I interacted with throughout my fieldwork were very cooperative. They included me in activities and, I think, conversed freely with me. Because of this cooperation, I gained valuable information through this exercise. It was intensive and time-consuming. But the fieldwork was productive enough that by the end, I felt I was not learning anything new. It was time to end the data collection process.

2.3.1.2 Document analysis Deslauriers (1991) explains that a second feature of the participant/observation method is the importance of using other data collection techniques to complement the observations. After the 1996 games, I went through all the files of the SJFA and all FJA documents that pertained to the AFG. Such documents included promotional material, minutes of meetings, memos, reports, evaluations of AFGs, planning materials, letters, grant proposals, programs of the AFGs, and more. I also reviewed documents (statutes, publicity pamphlets, positions statements, reports and promotional material) of FJA and the ACFA to obtain general information about these associations. I also analyzed documents of the AMFA, *Société acadienne, Alliance française* and *Société pour une école publique à Edmonton,* but these organizations did not have much written material. Interviews were more informative about these associations leaders' perspectives on francophone identity and community.

The document analysis consisted in lifting all statements that: defined the mandate, objectives and the membership of these associations; described the purpose of their programs and activities; illustrated their interaction and relationships with other francophone associations or bodies such as sport associations or government departments; pointed to various issues related to the different meanings of francophoneness that emerged in the planning or execution of their programs and activities. I was especially interested in the terminology and definitions these associations adopted to describe francophone identity and community. This document analysis was useful in understanding their ideas about francophoneness and in identifying issues and questions I could pursue during the interviews.

2.3.1.3 Interviews Throughout the data collection process, I conducted formal interviews with francophone leaders, AFG organizers[17], volunteers[18] and participants. Patton (1987) explains that interviews provide important information in qualitative research since they seek details and give a "holistic" understanding of the respondents' point of view. I tape-recorded interviews with a total of eighty-two French speakers: thirteen leaders of francophone associations, thirty AFG organizers and volunteers and thirty-nine AFG participants. These interviews complemented and completed the information I had gathered from my observations and from documents. Through these, I gained insight into the respondents understanding of francophoneness, their own francophone practices, the community and the AFG.

I used an interview guide that I developed from my observation of the 1996 AFG and from the preliminary document analysis. The interview guide consisted of a list of questions or issues I wanted to explore and probe. I used one guide for interviews with leaders of francophone associations and organizers (see Appendix 2) and I wrote a slightly different one for interviews with youths (see Appendix 3). However, all interviews were different since I tailored them according to the respondents' experience and relationship to the community or to the AFG. I also addressed other issues that arose during the different interviews, probing to get respondents to develop their ideas or describe their statements.

Except for group interviews with the Administrative Council of the SJFA, leaders of FJA, and members of AMFA, interviews with leaders of provincial associations and organizers were individual interviews. Most interviews lasted about one hour to one hour and a half. I conducted follow-up interviews for the first three interviews I had conducted with organizers in order to clarify some points and obtain more information. These second interviews lasted between 30 minutes to an hour. They allowed me to better devise the interview guide for subsequent interviews. Other respondents were interviewed only once[19].

Over the course of the fieldwork, I interviewed many AFG organizers and leaders of francophone associations (see Appendix 4 for the list of interviews).[20] Most of these formal interviews with organizers and leaders of francophone organizations throughout the year were not anonymous.[21] I chose to treat the information as non-confidential for

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[17] The term "organizers" emcompasses employees of SJFA and FJA, volunteer officials on the Administrative Councils of these associations, volunteer members of SJFA committees (Steering Committee, Comité du Golf par excellence) and the *chefs de mission*.

[18] The term "volunteers" refers to the individuals that volunteered during the weekend of the 1996 AFG and/or the 1997 AFG. These French-speakers were involved with the AFG but did not participate in the decision-making process of staging the AFG.

[19] I interviewed the president of FJA at the 1997 Games. This interview was in three parts since we did not have enough time during our meetings to cover all questions.

[20] References to interviews are coded with "/E" to identify them as interview data. Interviews with organizers and with francophone leaders refer to the SJFA or to the francophone association the individual represents. To distinguish between interviews with members of a same organization, a small case letter follows the code "/E". For instance, the reference to the interview with the president of the ACFA is (ACFA/Eb, 1997) while the reference to one of the interviews with the president of the SJFA is (SJFA/Ee, 1996).

[21] The information I obtained from interviews with two volunteers and six organizers during the 1997 Games was confidential since it would have been difficult to reach them after the AFG to submit their interview transcripts for approval. These interview respondants were given the participant information

two reasons. First, the research questions and data analysis required that all organizations and associated information be individually identified. Different organizations adopt different positions regarding criteria defining the francophone and the community and it is important to identify and contextualize the differences between associations. All francophone associations directly or indirectly connected to the Games were included in the research as well other associations involved in the government of francophones, whether they are part of the official institutional network of the community or not. The data obtained from these interviews is identified in terms of the specific organization a leader[22] represents. Even if I do not identify the individual's name in the text, any interested party could obtain the names of the organization's leaders during the period of the study. Therefore, the data might not be directly linked to one specific individual. Yet, it could be associated with a limited number of possible respondents. Thus I can not guarantee anonymity.

Second, the individuals who participated in these interviews were or had been public spokespeople of these associations. They provided information on the organizations' official position, and on the organizations' perspective regarding different issues. They also answered according to their own personal opinions, but these are important since they influence the organizations' position. As representatives of the organizations, the individuals can be considered accountable for their statements. Therefore, confidentiality is not relevant. I mentioned to these respondents before the interviews, and also officially stated on the letter of information and consent form (see Appendix 5), that the information they would provide would not be confidential.

To ensure that francophone leaders and organizers would feel comfortable and would discuss openly during the interview, I informed them that they would get a copy of the interview transcript for review. Once they had verified the written text, they would decide if they would allow me to use the transcript. Respondents were invited to make any changes they deemed necessary to the transcript, whether add comments, rewrite statements or delete information. Some respondents did make some changes to 'fix' what they felt was incoherent or to censure some of their statements. In one case, the respondent felt that he could discuss the issue of identity labels with me. But since he had not thought them through yet, he was uncomfortable with having his words on record. He also changed his definition of the community because he now felt differently. Another respondent also censured a few parts of the interview for the same reasons. He was willing to talk about certain issues or to tell me a particular story. But he was uneasy with having a written statement attributed to him about these issues. Not all deleted information was related to questions of francophoneness. Two respondents, for instance, chose to remove comments that referred to age differences (young adults vs. adults). In most cases, no important information was deleted.

Once they had revised the interview transcript, I asked organizers and francophone leaders to sign a consent form allowing me to use the text of the transcript and to associate the statements to their organization and their position in the organization (see Appendix 6). Even with these provisions, members of the AMFA insisted that their

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letter and were asked to sign the participant consent form since it specifies that the information provided is confidential.

[22] The term 'leaders' refers to the president and executive director and/or other employees or volunteer executives identified as key individuals in the course of the fieldwork.

interview be confidential.[23] Obviously, the *chef de mission* I referred to at the beginning of this chapter was not the only French speaker sensitive to issues of francophoneness. Making public statements about francophoneness or the francophone community was problematic for some respondents. As far as I can tell, members of the AMFA and respondents who deleted information from their interview transcripts were sufficiently comfortable to talk about francophone issues with me. But they were not willing to have some of their comments attributed to them.

I also interviewed thirty-nine youths in group interviews.[24] I conducted two group interviews with teenagers who had participated in the AFG before the 1997 Games in order to test my interview guide and practice my interviewing skills with youths. I interviewed three teenagers in Edmonton[25] and five at *École Héritage* in Jean Côté[26] (in the Peace River area). This experience allowed me to get more comfortable talking with teenagers about issues I originally thought would annoy them. I was relieved to see that they were willing to discuss questions of francophoneness. Those who attend francophone schools have, according to what they told me, already been invited to think about such questions. They seemed at ease to speak with me and were not bothered by the kinds of questions I asked them. At the 1997 AFG, I conducted nine group interviews with participants.[27] Interviews with participants lasted about 40 minutes. Youths were very cooperative and willing to answer my questions. They were happy to share their ideas, although unsurprisingly they did not have much to say about identity and community. Questions of francophoneness were not as much an issue for them as for francophone leaders and AFG organizers, even though they may have been exposed in francophone schools to the importance of identity and community.

The first formal interview I conducted was a group interview with the Administrative Council of the SJFA on October 2, 1996. Discussing the idea of francophone community, I asked these organizers to explain exactly what the term meant. One of them described it as a "pizza". She visualized the community as a round pizza made up of various kinds of ingredients bound together by the sauce. Her analogy prompted me to ask board members to draw their own picture of the community. At the follow-up interview, I provided paper, pens and pencils and asked them to describe the community in a drawing. How did they conceptualize it? I believed this form of data would be a different and valuable depiction of how French speakers conceive of the community. This transposition of thoughts to picture complemented the statements and definitions provided in the interview. It proved to be a very useful source of information. I therefore decided to ask other interviewees (organizers, francophone leaders and youths) to also draw a picture of the community. Most respondents drew a sketch. In cases where respondents declared being unable to visualize the community in terms of a picture, I asked them to write a statement describing the community. They could describe it in words instead of a drawing.

I gathered a total of forty-nine drawings. Youths at the 1997 AFG produced twenty-five drawings or statements. Four of the participants I interviewed at the 1997

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[23] Members of the AMFA participated in the group interview on the condition that information would be anonymous. I could identify respondents to the association, but they were not to be individually identified.
[24] See Appendix 7 for the list of interviews; see Appendix 8 for the letter of information and consent form.
[25] References to this interview appear as (Youths/E-Edmonton, 1997).
[26] References to this interview appear as (Youths/E-Peace River, 1997).
[27] References to these interviews appear as (Youths/Ea-AFG, 1997), (Youths/Eb-AFG, 1997) and so on.

AFG were simply unable to think of anything to write or draw since the idea of francophone community was foreign to them. The three Edmonton teenagers I interviewed before the 1997 Games produced one drawing as a group whereas the students at *École Héritage* did not have the time to draw a picture since we had only been allocated 30 minutes and they had to leave for a school activity. Francophone leaders and organizers produced twenty-five drawings of the community. I did not ask the volunteers, employee and organizer I interviewed during the 1997 AFG to produce a drawing of the community because of the impromptu nature of these interviews and because the context did not lend itself to making a drawing (i.e. driving in the car, talking in the parking lot). Because of time constraints other leaders and organizers did not produce drawings.

All interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed to facilitate the analysis. Six different individuals including myself were involved in the process of transcribing the interview tapes. I cross-checked each transcript with the corresponding recording. The transcriptions were produced from the interviews, and remained faithful to the content of the interviews. But these texts are necessarily constructs, involving the conversion of verbal statements into written statements. The basic instructions I gave to transcribers was to write short sentences, omit redundant expressions such as "tsé", and follow grammatical rules as much as possible. Articulating ideas verbally is different from writing them. I wanted to reproduce the spoken word yet ensure clarity of the written text. Therefore, I limited sentences to one idea and followed conventions of written French.

Besides, one of the main concerns respondents expressed to me after reading the interview transcripts was the fact that the spoken word does not translate well into text. Many felt that their statements seemed incoherent and poorly articulated. They were worried about coming across as inarticulate. One respondent actually concluded after reviewing the transcription of his interview, that he would probably have preferred that I send him a list of questions to which he would have answered in writing instead of conducting a tape-recorded interview. Two respondents gave me permission to use the transcripts, but insisted that I not quote from these until they had a chance to review the excerpts I proposed to use. Before I could include some of their comments in my thesis or articles, I was to submit the quotes to them for approval. Their concern was not with the content, but with the written form. They wanted to have the chance to re-write the sentences to correct the grammar and the syntax.

This is largely why I decided to modify, when necessary, all quotes originating from all interview transcripts and drawings/statements. These changes were meant to make them conform to the conventions of written French. Two types of corrections were performed. First, quotes from interviews were transformed from vernacular statements to written statements. For example, words like "ben" and "pis" were replaced with "bien" and "et" while expressions pronounced as "j'pense" were transcribed as "je pense". Sentences were 'cleaned up' as well to eliminate superfluous expressions such as "tu sais", "-là" (i.e. affaires-là) and "autres" (i.e., nous autres, eux autres). Second, quotes were corrected in accordance with spelling and grammatical rules. The modification of interview quotes included writing the proper verb tense, changing the sentences to comply with gender/number agreement and adding the "ne" since the negation in the French spoken word is often reduced to "pas" instead of "ne pas" in the written word. In

performing these corrections, I chose to respect and convey the sense and meaning of the statements as opposed to reproducing the words.

The following quote is provided as an example of the changes I made to transcription excerpts. The first quote is taken verbatim from the transcription, while the second quote is the 'corrected' version that appears in Chapter Three.

> Excerpt from transcription:
> Quand on a rentré c'est là qu'a été l'espèce d'élément qui a changé complètement ma vision par rapport aux Jeux. On est entré et là, il y avait une aréna pleine de monde. (...) Plein de jeunes sur la glace, c'était de l'asphalte, du ciment. C'était plein de jeunes. (...) J'pense qu'il y avait 1 000 jeunes sur la surface de la glace. (...) Mais le pire, c'est qu'il y avait autant de monde dans les estrades. T'imagines, il y avait, j 'sais pas combien de personnes aux Jeux de Dalhousie. (...) Nous, on a monté. On suivait notre parrain. On essayait de comprendre ce qui se passe. C'est la première fois qu'on voyait ça. On est monté sur une estrade et là, on a arrêté là.

> Modified version that appears in Chapter Three:
> Quand on est rentré, c'est là qu'a été l'espèce d'élément qui a changé complètement ma vision par rapport aux Jeux. On est entré et là, il y avait un aréna plein de monde. Nous, on était l'avant-dernière délégation à entrer. Donc, c'était plein de monde sur la glace. (...) C'était plein de jeunes. (...) Je pense qu'il y avait 1 000 jeunes sur la surface de la glace. (...) Mais le pire, c'est qu'il y avait autant de monde dans les estrades. Tu t'imagines, il y avait je ne sais pas combien de personnes aux Jeux de Dalhousie. (...) Nous, on est monté. On suivait notre parrain. On essayait de comprendre ce qui se passait. C'est la première fois qu'on voyait ça. On est monté sur une estrade et là, on s'est arrêté.

Such modifications prevent the reader from being distracted by the spoken form of the statements or the grammatical mistakes. The focus is on the content of the statement.

2.3.1.4. Questionnaires I prepared a short-answer questionnaire to collect demographic data from AFG participants, organizers and volunteers. The questionnaire also included questions about respondents' francophone identity, their linguistic practices and their involvement in community activities. Of course, the information gathered with this questionnaire is based on the respondents' perception. For instance, one question asked respondents to state whether their parents' first language is French or not. The answers provided are based on the respondents' thoughts on the matter, and may or may not be the same answer their parents would give. Similarly, the last question asked respondents about their involvement in the francophone community. Answers are based on how they perceive their own participation in community activities, and may not necessarily reflect all institutions and activities they actually take part in, nor others' perceptions about their levels of participation.

As stated at the beginning of this chapter, I administered the questionnaire at the April 26 General Council meeting in order to test it with French speakers and also to obtain information about organizers (see Appendix 9 for a copy of the questionnaire). In addition to changing the francophone identity question so that respondents could choose more than one label, organizers suggested that I add two more questions. The purpose of the first question would be to identify the means by which participants and volunteers had been recruited. The second question would seek information on their motivations for getting involved in the AFG. I accepted these suggestions and further modified the questionnaires by preparing two different forms, one for organizers/volunteers and another for participating youths (see Appendix 10 for example of questionnaires administered at the 1996 AFG).

I asked all organizers involved in the various SJFA committees to fill out an organizer/volunteer questionnaire. This was done throughout the year as I met the individuals involved in the different committees. It should be noted that the questionnaire answers of these organizers involved in different SJFA committees and of the *chefs de mission* were not confidential, since I asked them to write their names on the questionnaire. The questionnaire data was valuable in preparing profiles of organizers to understand the similarities and the differences between them, and the connections between their backgrounds and their actions in the context of the AFG. For instance, many of the organizers and volunteers were not born in Alberta, and it is those who were the most recently arrived in the province and involved in schools (French immersion and francophone schools) who expressed the most concern over the fact that participants spoke English at the Games. Had the organizers' questionnaires been anonymous, it would have been impossible to contextualize these reactions and statements that I observed during the fieldwork.

The volunteer and participant questionnaires were anonymous and administered during the Games. The Steering Committee of the 1996 AFG offered to administer both questionnaires in conjunction with the Games evaluation survey.[28] The response rate for the participant questionnaire was very high: 140 respondents out of a total of approximately 150 participants. The volunteer questionnaire was distributed with the AFG evaluation survey. As a result of problems concerning the administration of this questionnaire, the response rate was low. I only received 25 volunteer questionnaires. Because of logistical problems and last minute changes, organizers could not confirm the total number of individuals who volunteered during the 1996 AFG. The Steering Committee had hoped to recruit and train a minimum of 175 volunteers (SJFA, 1996c), but the estimated number of actual volunteers is 100 (SJFA, 1997).

Over that weekend, it was brought to my attention that some volunteers had been confused by the fact that one questionnaire they were asked to complete was anonymous (my research questionnaire), but the second was not (the SJFA evaluation survey).[29] I realized then that since I was not administering the questionnaire myself, I could not introduce myself and explain the purpose of my research. My research questionnaire forms at the 1996 Games did not provide information as to the purpose of the questions.

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[28] See Appendix 11 for details concerning the administration of the participant and volunteer questionnaires at the 1996 Games.

[29] They were asked to provide their name and telephone number at the end of the evaluation survey if they were willing to volunteer for future AFG.

Volunteers and youths most likely associated both questionnaires with the organizers and the SJFA since organizers distributed them at the same time as the evaluation survey.

Following the 1996 AFG, I decided to make a few changes to the questionnaires I prepared for the 1997 AFG (see Appendix 12 for the 1997 volunteer and participant questionnaires). First, I added a short paragraph on the questionnaire form to introduce myself and state the purpose of the research. Second, I modified the identity question. I changed the display of the question, putting a few identity labels in parentheses in the text of the question. As examples of identity labels, I listed the five labels that had been declared the most important by participants and volunteers at the 1996 Games. I also added the term "bilingual". About 21,8% of the sample of Alberta French-speaking youths that participated in the *Vision d'avenir* study identified themselves as bilingual (Bernard, 1991). Although 18,1% of respondents declared having both French and English as first languages, none of the youth or volunteer respondents to my research questionnaire at the 1996 Games specified the term bilingual in the space provided for other identity labels that best described them. I decided to offer it as an example on the 1997 questionnaire in order to make comparisons between the 1996 and 1997 results. Would more youths and volunteers choose it as an identity label if it was listed as an example? Finally, I added a question to obtain information on the number of years French speakers had been involved with the AFG. Were most of them new to the event or long-term participants and volunteers?

I administered most of the participant questionnaires myself as well as some of the volunteer questionnaires during the 1997 AFG.[30] In spite of a few logistical problems, I was able to obtain a high response rate for the first questionnaire, collecting 164 questionnaires from a total of approximately 180 participants. Organizers at the volunteer registration desk again distributed the volunteer questionnaire at the 1997 AFG. In addition, I also administered volunteer questionnaires to the volunteers I met during the last two days of the Games. This way, I was able to collect 57 questionnaires from the more than 147 volunteers involved in the 1997 AFG.

2.4 Relationships researcher-community

My own relationship to the francophone community played a role throughout the research process from the choice of research questions to the analysis of the empirical data. When I started this research project, I conceived of myself as a Franco-Ontarian transplanted to Alberta to pursue doctoral studies. As a francophone, I did have a certain understanding of the issues about francophone identity and the competing definitions that act on the production of the francophone community in Alberta. I could recognize the signs and practices of francophoneness produced in both the cultural and linguistic discourse. Yet, my own experience as a francophone had been quite different. I had lived in an environment where francophones were the majority and later on in a bilingual environment.

Until I moved to Alberta, I had lived in contexts where the French language and francophone identities were valued. The social position of francophones in those

[30] See Appendix 13 for details concerning the administration of the participant and volunteer questionnaires.

environments was far better than that of francophones in Edmonton. Moreover, some practices I observed in the community were unfamiliar to me, such as the discursive insistence of the regional francophone associations (ACFA régionales) on promoting a folklorized version of francophone culture (i.e. the annual *Cabanes à sucre* held throughout the province) and the persistence of the English language in youths' linguistic practices.

I was not fully integrated into the community at the beginning of my fieldwork. I felt and maintained a certain distance and did not fully identify with the francophone community. Despite my similarities with Alberta francophones and my political commitment to the maintenance of French language in Canada, this was not 'my' community and I did not try to make it so since my stay in Alberta was to be temporary. However, before starting the fieldwork, I had been involved in various Edmonton francophone institutions and activities: I taught courses and participated in social events at *Faculté Saint-Jean* , I briefly served on the cultural committee and the women's committee of the *ACFA régionale d'Edmonton*, I participated in a play, and I read the weekly *Le Franco* (the French language newspaper). While I engaged in these practices, I still did not feel a sense of attachment to the community and did not readily identify with the political structure governing the community.

As I participated in some francophone institutions, I sensed some differences between the community in Alberta and my own experiences of being a francophone in Ontario. And more importantly, I perceived a difference between my own beliefs about francophoneness and those promoted by some members of the francophone establishment. While I wanted to think of ways to ensure the preservation of francophone communities by opening up the boundaries and building affiliations based on a commitment to the French language, I felt that Alberta's official francophone representatives were, in practice, promoting a restricted community based on French Canadian ethnicity. Although I am indeed considered a member of such an ethnic community in light of my French Canadian lineage, my own thoughts on francophoneness are different.

During the data collection process, I was still teaching at *Faculté Saint-Jean* and attending francophone plays and performances. Yet, it is through my fieldwork that my involvement in the community became more intense. My increasing integration into the francophone community and my ongoing resistance to this process especially marked the 'participant' dimension of data collection. I attended many public events and meetings; I developed a form of insider's knowledge about the political structure of the community and about the AFG; and, I kept informed about francophone issues through the francophone media, *Le Franco* and *CHFA*.

I had met and socialized with francophones before starting the fieldwork, but it was during the year and a half of participant/observation, document analysis and interviews that I met many francophones involved in the institutional network. Not only did I meet them for interviews, but I would also regularly see them at various community events. As my face became familiar so I got to know these people. I was even associated to the SJFA and FJA, as if I was 'one of them'.[31] By engaging in some of the practices that

[31] That I would be associated with the AFG was not surprising since many people knew about my research. And, I suppose it was only normal that I would be identified with these associations and their members since I spent so much time in meetings or in their offices going through documents. Yet I was shocked that

produce French speakers as members of the Alberta francophone community, I was at times recognized as a member of the community. And in many ways I performed as one, yet, I preferred to keep a political and ideological distance. As a result, I was in an outside/inside relationship with francophones and the community.

2.4.1 My influence on organizers and the AFG

There is no denying that my research had an effect on organizers and on the AFG. They were aware of the focus of my research, thus the interviews and my simple presence at meetings, whether I intervened or not, reminded them of issues of francophoneness. In this sense, my research certainly encouraged French speakers I spoke with to think about issues of identity, community and francophoneness in the context of the AFG. While it seemed to be a topic ACFA representatives and some francophone leaders and organizers were well versed in, it was an unfamiliar subject for some leaders, for many organizers and most participants. They rarely had been put in a situation where they had to explain their views about francophone identity and community. That AFG organizers and francophone leaders would not have previously debated and discussed these issues illustrates how francophone identity and membership in the community are taken for granted.[32] French speakers get involved in projects to promote francophoneness and strengthen the community often without defining explicitly who and what is a francophone.[33] They invariably refer to the importance of francophone identity and community, but these concepts remain undetermined. This was certainly the case with the AFG.

I also raised questions about the francophone character of the Games when I shared my thoughts with organizers and volunteers throughout the data collection process. I had many discussions with the president (and after July 1996, past president) of the SJFA about the issues I perceived at the Games such as the conflict between sport and francophone identity as well as the predominant use of English among participants. I also shared my thoughts with other organizers and volunteers as the fieldwork progressed.[34] In addition, I did a run-through of one of my conference presentations on October 16, 1996 for the Administrative Council of the SJFA. We then discussed the

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friends would see me as an FJA acolyte. I certainly perceived myself as different from FJA members and organizers and wanted to maintain my position as an outside observer.

[32] It could also be that these questions were not debated or were avoided in the context of the AFG because organizers did not want to create divisions within the French speakers (organizers, volunteers and participants) or among the institutions (schools and school boards) involved in the event.

[33] FJA leaders did debate the idea of francophone identity at a planning meeting in November 1996 (FJA, 1996b). But instead of defining what francophone identity is, they strategically left the definition open to encourage French speaking youths to decide for themselves what being a francophone means. The discussion focused on FJA's mission to assist and encourage young French speakers to discover and live their francophoneness. These FJA leaders at least talked and thought about what francophone identity could be. That they purposefully chose to leave its definition open is different than a situation where the meaning of francophone identity is simply taken for granted.

[34] Throughout the fieldwork, I had many opportunities to talk about my research and/or the Games with organizers, before or after meetings, at the AFG, driving to out of town meetings, etc.

ideas I was putting forward and organizers agreed with the content of my presentation.[35] During the rest of the fieldwork, I submitted abstracts of other conference papers to the Administrative Council to solicit their feedback and to inform the organizers about the ideas I was publicly articulating about the AFG.

Talking through my observations with organizers and volunteers was very helpful in gaining more information and in understanding how they contextualized their practices. After the 1996 AFG, for instance, I mentioned to some members of the Steering Committee that sport was practically the only topic that was discussed in General Council meetings. Moreover, most of the organizers' efforts were focused on the sporting dimension of the Games as opposed to focused on ensuring a francophone environment. The organizer in charge of the sports program of the 1996 Games replied that in terms of actions, this might seem so, but in financial terms, the budget for the cultural program far exceeded the budget for sport competitions. In another conversation, the president of the SJFA explained that in terms of priority, it appeared obvious to him that the promotion of French language was the focus of the AFG: It was outlined in the statutes and regulations of the SJFA; organizers evaluated their objectives by insisting that the Games existed to promote francophoneness; and they refused to reduce the cultural program budget which was an important amount in the overall AFG budget. Organizers were willing to invest in promoting francophoneness, he said, but they did not know how to accomplish this. They did not know how address the issue of youth speaking in English. As a result, in late night meetings during the Games, they focused on the sports program and logistical issues they could actually 'fix'. These examples point to the issues that organizers faced in trying to promote francophoneness through a sport event. These questions will be discussed in Chapter Six. For the purpose of this chapter, these examples illustrate how sharing my thoughts with organizers was not only useful to 'test' my observations, but it was also a valuable exercise that provided insight into organizers' perceptions and it helped me better understand the issues at play.

In addition to potentially influencing organizers by revealing my observations and thoughts, I challenged their statements during interviews and might have prompted some of them to change their mind about what is the francophone. For example, in the group interviews with the Administrative Council, I pointed to the fact that their definitions about francophone identity and community were incoherent. One aspect of instability was evident in the way they would state, on the one hand, that language was the only criteria that determines francophoneness and, on the other hand, that culture was an essential part of the francophone identity and community.[36] Such interactions with organizers were valuable since they demonstrated that despite my challenges, organizers nonetheless returned to their previous competing notions of identity and community. To

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[35] In this presentation I argued that the meaning of the Alberta francophone community is unstable since many definitions of identity and community are articulated. For instance, both political and cultural relationships produce the community. But some francophones explain the community as based on culture and history while others understand it as being built through political participation. These definitions conceive of the community as constructed through one or the other type of relationships, not both. This results in an ambiguous discursive community.

[36] It should be noted that organizers did not appear to feel threatened by my questions or my comments. The exchange was more of a discussion, rather than a debate, where respondents were trying to think about these issues instead of trying to prove the truth value of their opinions. I was relieved that they almost welcomed my challenges and did not become defensive.

be sure, my research forced them to confront the discursive instability of the community they were attempting to contribute to. They acknowledged that there were inconsistencies in their understanding of francophoneness and the fact that they attempted to better define it in the context of the Games[37] demonstrates that they were at least thinking about these issues. But discourses on the francophone, and the dynamics between these discourses, were more powerful in producing organizers' ideas about francophoneness than my attempts to unravel the contradictions in their statements.

There are traces of my influence on organizers, such as the proposal to create a committee to study the issue of culture at the AFG. On a few occasions, organizers actually invited me to take on a greater role.[38] I did express my concerns about the issue of my potential influence on the process of staging the Games if I became more involved in the discussions and in the decision making. But organizers felt it was important for them to benefit from my research and my presumed expertise. They felt it was more timely to get my input while I was closely following the Games instead of waiting for the report I would eventually submit at the end of the research.

Ultimately, my research and my actions had a limited effect on the organization of the AFG. I questioned, at various moments, the purpose of the Games and of the strategies implemented to achieve these objectives. I demonstrated to organizers that the ideas of francophone identity and community articulated in the context of the AFG were inconsistent. And I shared my 1996 questionnaire results with the Administrative Council. But these were momentary episodes. Organizers soon returned to the 'truths' of previous discourses on the francophone and on sport, thus returning to their previous practices. Their infallible return to inconsistent definitions about francophoneness and to plans and actions that could undermine its promotion underlines the social embededness of these 'truths'.

The most significant impact my research may have had is on organizers' own ideas about francophoneness. As Giddens (1984, p. 6) states "we will not ordinarily ask another person why he or she engages in an activity which is conventional for the group or culture of which that individual is a member." Yet, this is exactly what I was doing in my research. Not only was I asking francophones why they were so involved in activities and organizations devoted to sustaining the community, I was asking them to explain this community. My questions and challenges of their own understanding of francophoneness may, perhaps, have a more lasting influence on organizers than it had on the process of staging the AFG. Then again, their questioning of identity and community may have been fleeting and quickly forgotten.

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[37] During my interviews with the Administrative Council, I had challenged their idea of culture and of the role of culture at the AFG. Through these discussions, organizers realized that the concept of culture in the context of the AFG was vague. What was the culture they were trying to promote? As a result, they proposed to create a committee that would study the idea of culture at the AFG and they asked me to be part of this committee. However, the committee was never put in place.

[38] When the vice-president introduced the proposal to create the committee on francophone culture at the Games, on November 12, 1996, he declared that my group interviews had raised many questions concerning the cultural program of the AFG. This had revealed a need to devise a cultural policy for the Games and he suggested the creation of a committee to elaborate this policy. At this meeting, I was asked to take part in this cultural committee. Organizers felt that I had the necessary expertise (because of my masters' and doctoral research) to make an important contribution to the committee. But, as stated above, the process of constituting this committee remained at the proposal level. Other issues related to the organization of the AFG were more of a priority.

2.4.2 Organizers' expectations and reactions to my research

Organizers and francophone leaders were very helpful throughout the research process. Members of both the previous and new SJFA Administrative Council were interested in my project and, more importantly, were very accommodating to my queries for information. In fact, I felt quite fortunate that they included me in all meetings and kept me informed of all the developments in the process of staging the Games, or in the community. Instead of treating me as an outside observer, organizers and volunteers included me in all activities. We were familiar with each other. I could not have asked for better research conditions as far as my interaction with organizers and volunteers was concerned.[39]

For instance, from the first General Council meeting I attended it appeared clear that organizers trusted me and were concerned about giving me access to all relevant information. At the beginning of this April 1996 meeting, the *chefs de mission* revealed that there was an important recruitment problem. Not enough participants had registered for the AFG. Without a sufficient number of participants, the 1996 AFG were in jeopardy. During the lunch break, the president of the Administrative Council called a private meeting of the Steering Committee to discuss the problem. Even though the *chefs de mission* and other organizers were not allowed at this meeting the president invited me to join them. Cancelling, or going forward with, the AFG was a sensitive subject, but he trusted me and thought I might gain important information for my research. This is but one example of how organizers included me in all activities associated to the AFG. There was also the *chefs de mission* meetings I attended during the 1997 Games, the help organizers provided me in finding accommodation for the 1997 Games and in organizing my schedule when I traveled to Falher for meetings and interviews, their initiative in organizing a radio call-in show so that I could get comments from francophones in Falher, and so forth.

In addition to giving me access to all committees, meetings and documents, organizers were quite supportive of my research activities. I certainly was aided by their endorsement in one particular incident. At the March 1997 *Journée du Savoir* at *Faculté Saint-Jean* I gave a public presentation about the instability of the statements producing the francophone community in the context of the AFG. I had previously submitted the abstract of my presentation to the Administrative Council and they were aware of its content. As this conference was intended for the larger francophone public, two organizers as well as a francophone leader happened to attend my presentation.

About two weeks after this conference, I learned that the francophone leader (involved in the institutional network but not in the organization of the AFG) had complained that I had ridiculed the organizers in the way I cited from their interviews and in the way I presented my arguments.[40] Needless to say, I was quite disturbed by this

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[39] There is only aspect of organizers' efforts to help me with my research that I wish could have been improved: the administration of my volunteer questionnaire. But I have to admit that organizers were no more successful in the administration of their own volunteer evaluation survey.

[40] Despite her reaction to my presentation, this same leader did agree to participate in an interview for my research.

criticism since it certainly had not been my intention to ridicule the organizers. To point to the instability of organizers' statements about the community was not a value judgment on the efforts of organizers. It was meant to reveal the complexity of the francophone community and to problematize the idea of community.

At the following Administrative Council meeting, I informed them of the incident and explained that it had not been my intention to make organizers look incompetent or incapable. The president revealed that she had heard some comments to the effect that my presentation outlined problems with the concept of community at the Games. But she said that she had paid no attention to them. No one else seemed to have heard anything about my presentation. The president actually suggested that someone from the Administrative Council should from now on be present when I was to make a public presentation in Edmonton. This would serve to show that they were aware of my arguments and that they supported me.[41] No organizer expressed any concerns about my conference presentations. I eventually had an opportunity to speak to the two organizers who attended my presentation. Neither one of them had been offended by my presentation nor did they find it problematic that I would publicly discuss such issues.

As this example illustrates, organizers were supportive of my work, and were so throughout the research process. This can be explained in part by the fact that they viewed my project as giving some credibility to the their efforts, and to the AFG: The Games were sufficiently important to be the topic of a doctoral thesis! In this sense, organizers had their own objectives in being so accommodating towards my research. Even at my first meeting with the Administrative Council on April 16, 1996, organizers asked if they could submit my name and phone number to francophone media and tell them about my research in the hope that it could generate some publicity for the Games. A few weeks later, I was interviewed on CHFA.

The most telling illustration of how organizers perceived the importance of my research occurred in April 1997 during the FJA General Meeting. I was observing the meeting as part of my fieldwork and was surprised when the president of the youth association introduced me to the crowd. Indeed, as he reported on the different activities FJA had accomplished throughout the year, he introduced me as a university researcher studying the AFG. He asked me to describe my research and cited it as an example that demonstrated that francophone youth activities in Alberta were significant enough to be studied. Obviously, my research was a way for organizers to legitimize their efforts and activities. Moreover, it appears that organizers were also genuinely interested in learning what they could from my research. Indeed, they wanted me to assume a greater role in

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[41] The excerpt of the minutes of this Administrative Council meeting reads as follows:
"7. Varia
a) Commentaires de Christine sur sa présentation à la Faculté:
- Quelques personnes ont fait le choc après la présentation de Christine à la Faculté Saint-Jean et on fait des commentaires négatifs à cet égard
- Christine mentionne qu'il y a pu y avoir manque de communication avec l'audience--il aurait pu paraître qu'elle se moquait des Jeux francophones de l'Alberta--mais son étude est vraiment là pour en faire la critique et ce qui pourrait nous être bénéfique
- Sylvie mentionne que la présence d'un membre du Conseil d'administration aurait pu éviter cette réaction négative et montrer à l'audience qu'on supporte son étude. Il faut essayer de faire voir à ces gens que la Société fonctionne par l'aide de bénévoles et que la moyenne d'âge est très jeune. Ceci expliquerait les aspects négatifs de la Société qui ressortiront dans l'étude." SJFA (1997c, p. 4)

the process of staging the AFG, and they also believed that the results of my study would help them be more effective in achieving their mandate.

Despite the active collaboration of organizers and despite the influence on the study of my relationship to the francophone community, there were important differences between this research endeavor and action-research. Action-research is often initiated by practitioners who identify a problem (Grawitz, 1990) and conduct a research to solve it, in collaboration with an outside researcher or not (Dolbez, 1997). But AFG organizers did not instigate this study, even though they were concerned with the issues I explored. Rather, I started this research on my own initiative according to my theoretical and empirical research interests as well as my professional and career objectives. Moreover, I chose the research questions and the methodology. While organizers cooperated in making the empirical data accessible, I made all the decisions regarding this study. Another significant characteristic that distinguishes this study from action-research is that I did not actively become involved in 'improving' the Games. Dolbec (1997) explains that the researcher doing action-research is directly engaged in solving the 'problem'. While I shared my observations and results with AFG organizers throughout my fieldwork, I did not participate in the decision-making process involved in staging the Games. I purposefully maintained my position as an outsider. It was up to organizers to use the information I provided to bring about change if they so desired. This does not mean that my research had no impact on the work of the organizers or on the AFG. But it was not the same kind of effect that would have been produced through action-research.

2.5 Francophoneness: a politically sensitive issue

During the fieldwork, and even once it was completed, I did not want to get involved in debates about francophoneness in Alberta. For instance, I declined an invitation to participate in a CHFA round table about the francophone community in October 1998 in the context of the *Rond Point,* the weekend General Meeting of the ACFA. I did take part in one of the activities of the *Rond Point.* The objective of the session I attended was to seek the input of ACFA members concerning the debate on francophoneness at the level of the *Fédération des communautés francophones et acadiennes* (FCFA). The ACFA leadership had posed the question in terms of defining francophone communities as part of a cultural nation as opposed to a 'mere' linguistic groups. It was clear in the discussion that, despite some arguments by francophones who were opposed to the cultural nation position, many of the participants favored this ethnicist argument. I intervened and asked a question concerning the inconsistency of the ACFA in officially representing all francophones but in practice defending a French Canadian definition of the francophone. I was not satisfied with the answer, but I was not prepared to express my disagreement with ACFA leaders and members present at the meeting (even though I, too, was a paying member of the ACFA).

Clearly, my research continued to have an impact on my relationship with the community after the data collection. Because I tried to keep a certain distance from the community as researcher but also as a transient francophone, I did not assume a vocal or public stance about my own views about francophoneness. Issues of inclusiveness in the francophone community are politically sensitive. I did not get actively involved in the

struggle to define the francophone in Alberta because I did not want to risk jeopardizing my research and because it was not 'my' community.

I embarked on this research project because I had questions about francophoneness, yet I already had some ideas about it. As a francophone concerned with the politics of francophone identity I wanted to better understand how it is produced. Ultimately, I wish to contribute to the re-production of francophone communities and institutions. In this sense, my own francophone identity and experience as well as my political beliefs about francophoneness are marked and influenced by this research as much as they imprint it. I admire some of the organizers and leaders for their efforts in community building. Yet I felt at times disappointed and frustrated by some of the definitions some organizers and leaders would promote about francophone identity and community. Admittedly, I was challenging their ideas about francophoneness not only to point to the incoherence of their statements, but perhaps also in the hope that they would understand how these ideas excluded French speakers who could potentially contribute to the francophone community.

CHAPTER THREE - HISTORY OF THE AFG[1]

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the Alberta Francophone Games (AFG) and outline their establishment in the context of efforts aimed at ensuring the renewal of the francophone community. First, I describe the significant role of the FJCF and its *Vision d'avenir* project in the creation of the AFG. Second, a description of the Games and their dual purpose, to contribute to francophone identity as well as to sporting excellence among young francophones, follows. Third, I examine how the AFG seek to strengthen francophone identifications through providing young francophones with opportunities for sporting competition in the context of a francophone institution. The founding members of the Games were convinced of the beneficial effects such a sports event could have in the struggle to generate a francophone identity among youth and to counter the perceived threat of assimilation.

3.1 The impetus for francophone youth games

> Moi, j'avais commencé à m'impliquer, c'était après le projet Vision d'avenir. Ça date de longue haleine. C'est à ce moment qu'on a commencé à parler de l'importance que le sport pourrait prendre dans la promotion de la culture canadienne-française auprès de la jeunesse, et de la création d'un sentiment d'appartenance envers la communauté. C'est de là qu'on a commencé à penser de créer un événement sportif en Alberta. On voyait ça comme le point-clé, ou l'événement-clé, à tourner l'assimilation. Après ça, on est allé étudier les Jeux de l'Acadie (...). Quand on a vu la réaction des jeunes de l'Alberta (...), je pense que tous les adultes qui étaient là, on a tous dit: '*My god*, comme ... il faut faire, il faut ...' (...) Je pense que tout le monde qui est allé--si tu parles à n'importe quel adulte, accompagnateur ou entraîneur, qui est allé avec cette équipe--on a tous eu la même réaction, le même feeling d'impact. Quand on a vu ça, c'est toujours l'image qui nous reste en tête. Et c'est ça, en tout cas pour moi, (...) qui m'a poussé réellement à embarquer. Mais une fois qu'on est allé aux Jeux de l'Acadie on a tous réalisé que c'était primordial, que c'était essentiel, que ça répondait vraiment aux objectifs qui étaient énoncés dans (...) Vision d'avenir. Et c'est ça qui m'a motivé depuis ce temps. Aussitôt que ça commence à aller mal, j'pense à la réaction des jeunes à la cérémonie

[1] A modified French language version of this chapter has been accepted for publication. Dallaire (forthcoming). Les Jeux francophones de l'Alberta: un projet de développement communautaire. In N. Kermoal (ed.), L'histoire des Franco-Albertains Edmonton: Le Salon de l'histoire de la francophonie albertaine.

d'ouverture (...) et c'est ça qui me motive. On a été chanceuses de pouvoir vivre ça.[2] (SJFA)/Ea, 1996).

The *Fédération de la jeunesse canadienne-française* (FJCF)[3] has served francophone and Acadian youth since 1974 by carrying out projects and by formulating political demands at the federal level. Its membership encompasses youths in francophone minority communities via their respective provincial or territorial associations.[4] In April 1998, the FJCF announced: "Les Jeux de la francophonie canadienne : enfin!"[5] (FJCF, 1998, p.1). Six years after the publication of the recommendations in *Vision d'avenir*, a pan-Canadian sport event was finally being organized. The project of instituting a national sport event 'in French' had grown steadily since the proceedings of the national commission of inquiry.

In response to the 1986 census results revealing growing rates of linguistic transfers from French to English, especially among teenagers in the West, the FJCF launched *Vision d'avenir* in 1990. Indeed, the FJCF believed it was facing a desperate crisis that required immediate action to reverse the fate of francophone communities. The research revealed that 36.5 % of 10 to 14 year old youths with French as mother tongue spoke English at home. The rate of linguistic transfer from French to English was even higher, 55.3%, among 15 to 19 year old youths (Bernard, 1990b). "En effet, les taux d'assimilation étaient inquiétants: l'avenir des communautés françaises à l'extérieur du Québec semblait compromis. La diminution du nombre de jeunes parlant le français exigeait d'urgentes mesures de redressement."[6] (FJCF, 1992, p. 14). The youth group accordingly created a national commission to study assimilation and to suggest strategies to counter its threat to the future of francophone communities.

The final report of *Vision d'avenir* identified leisure activities, and particularly sport, as one of the areas that required expansion in order to provide youth with enjoyable opportunities 'in French'. Too often, it seemed, youths' experiences in a francophone

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[2] "I started getting involved after the *Vision d'avenir* project. It has been a long-term undertaking. It is then that we started talking about the importance that sport could take in the promotion of French-Canadian culture among youth, and the creation of a sense of belonging towards the community. It was then that we started thinking of creating a sport event in Alberta. We saw that as the key point, the key event to turn around assimilation. After that, we went to the *Jeux de l'Acadie* (...). When we saw the reactions of Alberta youths (...), I think that all the adults who were there, we all said: 'My god, like ... we have to, we have ...' (...) I think that everyone who went--if you talk to any adult, accompanying adult or coach who went with that team--we all had the same reaction, that same compelling feeling. When we saw that, that will always be the image we keep in mind. And that is it, at least for me, (...) that really persuaded me to get involved. But once we had gone to the *Jeux de l'Acadie* we all realized that it was fundamental, that it was essential, that it really answered the objectives that were stated in (...) *Vision d'avenir*. And that is what has motivated me since then. The minute things start to go wrong, I think of the youths' reaction at the opening ceremonies (...) and that is what motivates me. We were lucky to have the opportunity to live that." (SJFA)/Ea, 1996)

[3] At the time of the *Vision d'avenir* project, the association was called *Fédération des jeunes Canadiens français*. The name *Fédération de la jeunesse canadienne-française* was adopted in 1992.

[4] The FJCF brings together associations representing francophone youth in Ontario, Western and Maritime provinces as well as the Yukon.

[5] "The Games of the Canadian francophonie: finally!"

[6] "In fact, the assimilation rates were disturbing: the future of French communities outside Quebec appeared to be compromised. The declining numbers of young French-speakers required urgent recovery measures."

environment were associated with the constraints and sanctions of schools. Hence, the FJCF deemed it necessary to promote the development of activities associated with fun and play such as sport. An employee of FJA, who conducted research among francophone youth in Alberta for FJCF's national commission and who later participated as a volunteer in the foundation of the AFG explained:

> [J]'avais fait Vision d'avenir; j'avais fait la recherche pour FJA à travers l'Alberta. Je m'étais promené partout. Ce qui ressortait beaucoup, c'est que les jeunes avaient un huit heures ... Leur temps de la journée était par tranche de huit heures. (...) Tu as huit heures à l'école. Il y a huit heures qui étaient famille et loisir. Et il y a huit heures qu'ils dormaient. Nous--je dis nous pour dire la communauté--dans le développement de la communauté francophone, on se concentrait sur l'éducation, point final. C'était problématique parce que l'éducation, s'il y a quelque chose de plate pour les jeunes, c'est bien ça. Et la famille, à cet âge tu te repousses de la famille. Et les loisirs, bien il y avait le hockey, dans les sports, mais il n'y avait pas grand chose d'organisé, surtout pas en français. Moi, c'était sûr que c'était une de mes remarques dans cette étude, qu'il n'y a rien qui existe sur le côté du sport et loisirs. Et les jeunes ont huit heures à l'école, c'est bien beau. Ensuite, ils ont huit heures qui sont mal organisées. C'est sûr dans l'énergie, si tu regardes l'école et les loisirs, les loisirs c'est bien plus intéressant et le côté anglais gagnait. Donc, on devait organiser des structures.[7] (FJA/Ea, 1997).

Heeding those concerns and recognizing the need to foster the creation of meeting places where teenagers could play and have fun in French, *Vision d'avenir* urged national and provincial associations to collaborate and establish pan-Canadian francophone games, based on the model of the *Jeux de l'Acadie*. Indeed, the *Société des Jeux de l'Acadie* had participated in the national consultations and the commissioners were impressed with the multi-sport Acadian event held annually in the Maritime provinces since 1979.

The idea of organizing an Acadian youth sports event emerged during a colloquium held in 1978 at the *Centre d'Éducation Physique et Sports* of *Université de Moncton* to discuss francophone sport in New Brunswick (Allain, 1996; Berthiaume, 1993). The following year, the first *Jeux de l'Acadie* were held in Moncton in conjunction with the 375th anniversary of *l'Acadie*. In 1980, Acadians from Nova Scotia and Prince Edward

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[7] "I had done *Vision d'avenir*; I had done the research for FJA throughout Alberta. I had traveled everywhere. What came out clearly was that youth had eight hours... Their day consisted of eight hour segments. (...) You have eight hours in school. There are eight hours for family and leisure. And there are eight hours when they sleep. We--I say we to mean the community--in the development of the francophone community, we concentrated on education, that was it. It was problematic because education, if there is something that youths consider boring, it is it. And the family, at that age, you push away from the family. And leisure, well there was hockey, in sports, but there was not much that was organized, especially not in French. For me, it was definitely one of my comments in that study, that nothing exists for sport and leisure. And youths have eight hours at school, that is fine. Then, they have eight hours that is unorganized. It is obvious that in terms of energy, if you consider school and leisure, leisure is much more interesting and the English side was winning. So, we had to organize structures."

Island were also included in the event. The *Société des Jeux de l'Acadie Inc.* was incorporated in 1981 and the event has continued to grow, drawing 12 to 15 year old teenagers for most competitions. However, gymnastic competitions are also open to 10 to 13 years old athletes while mixed cycling is offered to 16 and 17-year-old teenagers. The *Jeux de l'Acadie* are organized as a two tiered competition. The Maritime provinces are divided into eight zones and the best athletes are chosen during regional meets to join the delegation representing their zone at the *Finales des Jeux de l'Acadie*. Staging the *Finales* means mobilizing about 1,200 to 1,500 volunteers, not counting the volunteers involved in the regional competitions. The number of youth participants is also quite extensive. Since 1985, more than 3,000 youths have participated in the regional contests with over 1,000 of them competing in the *Finales*. Allain (1996) estimates that over 55,000 youth and 52,000 volunteers took part in the *Jeux de l'Acadie* between 1979 and the early 1990s. This large enterprise not only comprises regional and final contests, but it also includes a youth leadership program called the *Académie Jeunesse*, a quarterly newsletter *La Charette* and a monthly bulletin *La P'tite Charette*, full-time employees, a fundraising organization called *Fondation des Jeux de l'Acadie Inc.* and more (Allain, 1996; Berthiaume, 1993). In a paper outlining the gains the New Brunswick Acadian community derives from its associative network, Allain (1996) claims that the *Jeux de l'Acadie* provide tangible benefits, namely economic advantages, infrastructures, improvement of French services, an increased involvement of francophones in provincial decision-making structures as well as an increase in Acadian athletes' participation in provincial and national competitions. In addition, the Games contribute non-tangible benefits such as the development of leadership skills among young Acadians, the generation of pride among youths, volunteers, municipalities and host regions, and a stronger Acadian self-confidence.

In light of the professed success of the *Jeux de l'Acadie*, the commissioners assumed that such a national sport event would be beneficial for francophone communities (FJCF, 1992, p. 131):

> Étant donné que les Jeux de l'Acadie, en tant qu'événement d'envergure au niveau du sport d'élite, ont connu un grand succès, la Commission souhaite voir des jeux de cette nature se produire à l'échelle du pays. De tels jeux permettent aux jeunes de participer à une activité sportive mais, en plus, ils animent l'ensemble de la communauté, stimulent les sentiments de fierté et permettent de développer la solidarité.[8]

While Maritime provinces were already taking part in the *Jeux de l'Acadie*, francophone communities in the rest of Canada had no such event in place. Before proceeding to the organization of a national championship, francophone games had to be instituted in Ontario and the Western provinces. That this process started even before the publication of the final report of *Vision d'avenir* demonstrates the weight and significance this francophone sport project carried. In fact, in June 1991, a Western delegation of thirty-

[8] "Given that the *Jeux de l'Acadie*, a large-scale high performance sport event, has been widely successful, the Commission wishes to see the development of games of the same nature on a national scale. Such games allow youth to take part in a sport activity, but, in addition, they bring life to the community as a whole, they stimulate feelings of pride and they allow the development of solidarity."

six participants and fourteen volunteer adults was organized to participate in the twelfth finals of the *Jeux de l'Acadie*, in Dalhousie, New Brunswick (Société des Jeux francophones de l'Alberta (SJFA), 1996a). This fifty-member delegation was a collaborative effort of the Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba and British Columbia provincial youth francophone associations. The *chef de mission*, an Alberta volunteer, described the unforgettable intensity of the opening ceremonies as follows:

> Bon, on est arrivé là-bas, les jeunes n'étaient pas plus impressionnés qu'il fallait encore. On est arrivé là-bas juste à temps. On était en arrière de l'aréna. (...) Là, notre parrain nous place en ligne. Il nous dit comment passer. Il nous passe l'étendard, etc. Là, on rentre. (...) Quand on est rentré, c'est là qu'a été l'espèce d'élément qui a changé complètement ma vision par rapport aux Jeux. On est entré et là, il y avait un aréna plein de monde. Nous, on était l'avant-dernière délégation à entrer. Donc, c'était plein de monde sur la glace. (...) C'était plein de jeunes. (...) Je pense qu'il y avait 1 000 jeunes sur la surface de la glace. (...) Mais le pire, c'est qu'il y avait autant de monde dans les estrades. Tu t'imagines, il y avait je ne sais pas combien de personnes aux Jeux de Dalhousie. Il y avait tellement de monde, l'aréna était plein. Il y avait des drapeaux qui flottaient partout dans les estrades, le drapeau des Acadiens. Nous, on est monté. On suivait notre parrain. On essayait de comprendre ce qui se passait. C'est la première fois qu'on voyait ça. On est monté sur une estrade et là, on s'est arrêté. Tout le monde a applaudi. *Standing ovation*. Tout le monde applaudissait. Ça criait parce que l'Ouest canadien c'était quelque chose quand même. (...) Ils étaient très impressionnés. Ils nous attendaient. Donc, quand on est entré, on a eu une ovation extraordinaire. Là, on a continué. On a descendu les estrades. Moi, j'étais ému. J'étais complètement... J'me suis tourné de bord, j'ai regardé la délégation: elle était transformée. (...) Mais, en ces quelques secondes qu'on a passé sur l'estrade, l'appui, le support de la communauté, ça, ça a transformé complètement de A à Z. Quand je suis descendu, j'ai regardé et c'est comme s'ils étaient sortis de leur coquille. Les accompagnateurs pleuraient. Il y avait des larmes qui coulaient. (...) Tu sais, c'était très émouvant. (...) Fait que c'est rien que pour te dire que juste ce contact ... Depuis, moi j'ai toujours dit, à chaque fois: "C'est ça qu'il faut aller chercher."[9] (FJA/Ea, 1997)

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[9] "Okay, we got there, the teenagers were not all that impressed. We arrived just in time. We were behind the arena. (...) Then, our attendant placed us in line. He told us how to proceed. He gave us the banner, etc. Then we entered. (...) When we entered, that is when that sort of factor that completely changed my vision of the Games occurred. We entered and then, there was an arena full of people. We were the second-last delegation to walk in. So, there were many people on the ice surface. (...) It was full of teenagers. (...) I think there were 1,000 youths on the ice surface. (...) But even more, there were as many people in the stands. Can you imagine, there were I do not know how many people at the Dalhousie Games. There were so many people, the arena was full. There were flags floating everywhere in the stands, the Acadian flag. We went up. We followed our attendant. We were trying to understand what was going on. It was the first time we saw that. We went up on the stage, and there we stopped. Everyone was

It is precisely that feeling of being warmly welcomed in the community that the founders of the AFG wanted to reproduce. The adults from Alberta joined the delegation because they cared for the future of the province's francophone community, and particularly for francophone youth. From the start, the adults in charge of the Western group understood that their task was not only to organize and supervise the trip, but also to study the format of the *Jeux de l'Acadie* in order to reproduce a similar venture in their respective provinces. Although they were aware of these expectations when they joined the delegation, those founders of the AFG I have interviewed asserted that it is the intensity of their experience at the Dalhousie Games that really drew them in. Because they lived such strong emotions at the *Jeux de l'Acadie*, these adults committed themselves to reproducing this exceptional happening in Alberta.

Since the idea of organizing francophone youth games in Alberta stems from the FJCF's larger pan-Canadian games project, it follows that the AFG were seen as a means to counter assimilation and to retain teenagers in francophone ranks, thus ensuring a lasting community in Alberta. In this respect, a volunteer with the Western delegation who was the cultural coordinator in a francophone school at the time of the trip to the *Jeux de l'Acadie* explained the prevailing sense of urgency: "C'était comme si je vivais dans une bulle où, bon, on disait: 'Faites attention à nos petits francophones.'"[10]. Younger generations of francophones had to be rescued from the appeal of the English language popular culture and of the assimilative power of anglophone society. "Et grouille-toi parce que dans dix ans, on va les perdre ces jeunes. Et le taux d'assimilation n'est même plus à 73%, c'est rendu 74%!"[11] (FJA/Eb, 1997). At the time, she had apprehended the 1% increase in the incidence of linguistic transfers as a dramatic decline among francophone youths. One need only skim through the first three volumes of *Vision d'avenir* (Bernard, 1990a, 1990b, 1991) to understand the sense of the impending doom generated by the threat to francophone communities if the tide of assimilation could not be stemmed. In view of this perceived crisis, instituting provincial games was timely and imperative. Teenagers had to be encouraged to feel a sense of belonging to the francophone community and to experience the strong emotions their peers in the Western delegation had lived. Based on their experience at the *Jeux de l'Acadie*, the founders of the AFG believed the Games would encourage youths to produce themselves as francophones and to feel themselves members of a larger community with shared interests in the continuing vitality of francophone institutions:

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clapping. Standing ovation. Everyone was clapping. They were cheering because the Canadian West, that is after all something. (...) They were impressed. They were waiting for us. So, when we entered we had this extraordinary standing ovation. Then we continued. We came down the stage. I was moved. I was completely... I turned around and looked at the delegation: it was transformed. (...) But, in those few seconds that we passed on the stage, the support, the support of the community, that, that transformed completely from A to Z. When I came down, I looked and it was as if they had come out of their shell. The accompanying adults were crying. There were tears. (...) You know, it was very moving. (...) So, it is simply to say that that simple contact... Since then, I have always said, each time: 'That is what we have to achieve.'"

[10] "It was as if I lived in a bubble where, well, they were saying: 'Watch out for our little francophones'."

[11] "And hurry up because in ten years we will lose those youths. And the rate of assimilation is no longer 73%, it is now 74%!"

> Tu t'imagines toi, d'être francophone et d'avoir ta communauté qui est là qui crie parce que tu vas lancer un javelot ou que tu vas courir? La valorisation que ça peut te donner, le statut que ça peut te donner.[12] (FJA/Ea, 1997)

In fact, the *chef de mission* of the Western delegation told the story of a young girl who competed in the 3,000m race. Due to logistical limitations, the participants chosen to represent the West were not necessarily the best competitors among francophone athletes. In this particular case, the coach of the delegation did not feel the teenager would be able to complete the race and he worried she would be a disgrace. But she wanted to run, therefore the *chef de mission* encouraged her to do so. At the start of the race, she quickly dropped to the end of the pack. The stands were full of spectators and since she was last, they cheered her on as she ran past the bleachers. The Western delegation even stood up to shout its support. So she ran faster and overtook another runner. The spectators cheered again and she went faster. Every time she outran a competitor, the crowd yelled even louder. In the end, she finished third. She was exhausted but proud. The delegation greeted her with cheers and she was sincerely welcomed. What was so remarkable about this race, according to the *chef de mission*, was that the crowd greatly encouraged her and made her feel supported, accepted. Until then, she had somehow remained on the sidelines, but now she was finally part of the group. This, the *chef de mission* insisted, is another one of his best memories from the trip to Dalhousie. I spoke with two other adults who accompanied the Western delegation and both shared similar anecdotes that revealed what they considered was the meaningful influence the *Jeux de l'Acadie* had had on the teenagers. Those significant moments sustained their conviction that the AFG could make a difference and could recreate those same feelings among youths in Alberta.

3.2 Staging the AFG

> La tenue d'un tel événement est un moyen privilégié pour nous, francophones, de nous rappeler l'importance des jeux dans le processus de développement communautaire. Ils nous démontreront que si nous croyons suffisament, nous pouvons réussir. Une exigence fondamentale du sport: "la détermination" est aussi une exigence pour la survie d'un franco-albertain dans nos efforts pour conserver notre langue et notre identité francophone.[13]
> Denis Desgagné, "Président, Premiers jeux francophones de l'Alberta", (FJA, 1992a).

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[12] "Can you imagine, being francophone and having your community there and cheering because you are going to throw the javelin or you are going to race? The encouragement it can give you, the status it can give you."

[13] "The staging of such an event is a privileged way for us, francophones, to remember the importance of the games in the process of community development. They will show us that if we believe enough, we can succeed. One of the fundamental requirements of sport: 'determination' is also a requirement for the survival of a Franco-Albertan in our efforts to conserve our language and our francophone identity."

> La tenue d'un tel événement, en plus de permettre aux jeunes de participer à des activités sportives et culturelles, anime l'ensemble de la communauté, stimule la fierté d'être francophone et permet de développer une solidarité franco-albertaine.
> Ces deuxièmes Jeux francophones de l'Alberta, il faut les vivre pleinement. (...) Soyons fiers de notre culture, de notre langue et profitons de l'occasion pour les mettre en valeur.[14]
> Denis Desgagné, "Mot du président du Comité organisateur des JFA", (FJA, 1993a).

> Cette fin de semaine fera preuve de la vitalité de la communauté franco-albertaine. Par l'entremise de multiples activités sportives et culturelles, les participants auront la chance de se "baigner dans un bain de francophonie". Des sentiments de fierté et d'appartenance envers leur langue et leur culture canadienne-française feront surface.[15]
> Zacharie Magnan, "Mot du président du Comité organisateur des JFA", (SJFA, 1995b).

Upon their return from the *Jeux de l'Acadie*, volunteers took on the responsibility of organizing youth games in their respective provinces in preparation for a Western final (FJA, 1992a). The inaugural Alberta Francophone Games were held in October 1992 under the auspices of FJA. FJA sees itself as promoting the development of francophone youth in Alberta through its activities in the areas of democratic process, culture, leisure and sport, communications, economy, educational services, political and public affairs, journalism and administration (SJFA, 1996a). Its activities, organized with other francophone associations in the country, are also aimed at helping Alberta's 'francophone communities' thrive (FJA, 1993b). The first AFG, staged in Edmonton with almost 120 volunteers, attracted about 150 participants competing in volleyball, badminton and track and field (FJA, n. d.). The Games quickly established themselves as one of the most, if not the most, thriving FJA event. In November of the subsequent year, 150 volunteers supervised more than 250 teenagers taking part in the AFG once again held in Edmonton. The event was not put on in 1994 since the organizers felt it was more appropriate to change the scheduling and stage Spring Games to better correspond with the timing of the *Jeux francophones de l'Ouest.* This way, it would be easier to select the Alberta delegation among the best athletes of the AFG. Consequently, the third edition of the Games was held in May 1995. This AFG drew close to 300 athletes to Edmonton. In

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[14] "The staging of such an event, along with allowing youth to participate in sporting and cultural activities, drives the community as a whole, stimulates francophone pride and allows the development of Franco-Albertan solidarity.
These second Alberta Francophone Games should be lived fully. (...) Let us be proud of our culture, our language and let us take advantage of this opportunity to highlight them."

[15] "This weekend will prove the vitality of the Franco-Albertan community. Through the many sporting and cultural activities, participants will have the opportunity to 'immerse themselves in a francophone environment.' Feelings of pride and of belonging towards their language and French Canadian culture will surface."

July that same year, 60 participants were part of the Alberta delegation to the first *Jeux francophones de l'Ouest,* staged in Beaumont and Edmonton.

The next two AFG were smaller in scope, with 150 athletes at the 1996 St. Albert Games and 180 participants in Falher in 1997. I would attribute this decline in the number of participants to issues mostly related to the organization of the Games. For instance, the turnover rate among the *chefs de mission* is quite high since very few return for a second year. The *chefs de mission* are responsible for the recruitment, but they are often unfamiliar with the AFG and have to build their own contacts in the francophone and French immersion schools. They are also volunteers with limited time to spare for the AFG. Other factors related to organizational effectiveness also come into play, such as the timing and quality of the promotional campaign by the Steering Committee. The relationship between the AFG and the francophone and French immersion schools is one organizational factor that could also point to community issues. Access to the schools for the promotion of the Games and organizational support from school administration in recruiting participants can be related to the perceived effectiveness of the organization, as well as related to the perceived importance of the AFG in the achievement of school objectives and values. For example, some French immersion school administrators may not actively support the AFG because they feel that the definition of the 'francophone' does not include their students. Conversely, francophone school or board administrations may feel that the Games are too Anglicized to provide for a quality francophone experience for their own students.

The sixth and seventh editions of the event returned to Edmonton. By then, a core group of organizers had gained experience in staging previous AFGs. Moreover, these organizers focused on improving the logistical and technical aspects of the Games as well as the recruitment process. Consequently, the 1998 and 1999 AFGs attracted approximately 270 youth participants.

All 12 to 18-year-old French speakers in Alberta are eligible to take part in the AFG. In fact, no minimum level of athletic performance is required and the level of competition is closer to what one would expect in recreational sport than in competitive meets. Sport is meant to be, in principle, a lure to attract youth to spend a weekend in a francophone environment. The sport component of the weekend program has expanded since 1992 and at the 1997 Games included volleyball, soccer, track and field, badminton and three-on-three basketball contests held on Saturday and Sunday with championship competitions held on the Monday morning. Cultural/social activities are also organized over the course of the event. Evening entertainment has included a French language concert or live performance by a magician and a social/dance showcasing English language music. When participants are not involved in sporting activities, they are invited to take part in cultural workshops. Topics covered in these sessions include, for example, magic, journalism, drawing, genealogy and improvisation.

Despite there being no Games in 1994, it was still an important year in the development of the AFG. The *Société des Jeux francophones de l'Alberta* (SJFA) was incorporated in 1994, as a separate entity from FJA, to better manage the growing scope of the AFG. The provincial youth association remains involved in many different ways in the organization of the Games; so much so that it is perceived by many as being still responsible for them. The statutes of the *Société* describe its mission as: "Favoriser l'épanouissement et le développement mental, physique et spirituel de la jeunesse

albertaine d'expression française par le biais d'événements culturels et sportifs en français"[16] (SJFA, 1995a, p. 2). Although structurally distinct--at least on paper--the new association remains faithful to the founding principles established by FJA for the AFG. Among other objectives, it seeks to create a regional and provincial movement to promote the use of French among teenagers (SJFA, 1995a, p. 2). Participants are recruited in the province's francophone schools, mixed schools[17] and French immersion schools.[18] When selecting their delegation, the *chefs de mission* are expected to give priority to "l'athlète qui démontre l'effort de parler en français et qui sera le mieux disposé à participer en français tout au long de la fin de semaine"[19] (SJFA, 1996a, 2-5).

However, despite measures adopted to promote and encourage the use of French, I observed that English was spoken, for instance, during speeches by dignitaries or in communication by arbitrating sport officials, as well as during conversations among participants. Activities at the AFG were meant to be conducted 'in French', yet the use of English for official and particularly unofficial interaction disrupted the notion of the Games as a 'francophone' event. The minority status of French and the hegemonic position English holds in Alberta and indeed in Canada were revealed in the frequency of English usage at the AFG. Not only was English spoken during the Games, but most of the organizers did not necessarily perceive its presence as problematic, or at least not problematic enough to actively address it. The use of English in official communications and the purported 'francophoneness' of the Games will be discussed in Chapter Six as an effect of the competing sport objectives of the AFG. The participants' preferred use of English over French in routine conversation will be examined in Chapter Seven.

Although the weekend event was created within a perspective of community development to promote francophone identity, the AFG also pursue a parallel sport mandate and are officially modelled on the Olympic Games. Alberta is divided into eight zones and participants are grouped in regional delegations who compete against rival regions under distinct banners. The statutes of the SJFA reveal the organization's sport objective which is to "stimuler une relève olympique"; in other words, to inspire young francophone athletes to aspire to athletic excellence (SJFA, 1995a, p. 2). Accordingly, organizers aimed to foster the training of francophone coaches, officials and other certified sport leaders in the hope that AFG competitions would eventually be sanctioned by provincial sport governing bodies. This way, the AFG would play a stronger role in the development of sport expertise within the community.

The marriage of community and sport aims is not without problems. In the actual staging of the Games, the competitive sport and popular culture practices sometime acted to the detriment of the development of francophone identity. In a few instances, the

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[16] "To further the mental, physical and spiritual fulfillment and development of French-speaking youth in Alberta through cultural and sporting events held in French."

[17] A mixed school offers a francophone program as well as a French immersion program or a regular English language program (Alberta Education, no date).

[18] During the 1997-1998 school year, 3,300 Albertan students were registered in French language programs in 17 francophone schools and 9 mixed schools while 26,221 Albertan students were in 155 French immersion schools (Alberta Education, no date; Alberta Education/E, 1999). However, the total number of potential French speaking students eligible for the AFG is lower than 29,521 since this includes all students in primary and secondary programs whereas participants at the AFG must be 12 to 18 years old.

[19] "the athlete who demonstrates an effort to speak French and who will be most inclined to participate in French throughout the weekend."

opposite was also true in that the desire to promote a sense of belonging to the community tended to reverse some often unquestioned sport precepts. The struggle between the competitive sport dimension of the AFG and their francophone project was expressed in the ongoing debate concerning the distribution of individual or collective prizes; through the choice of certified as opposed to French-speaking sport officials; in the altered criteria for delegation prizes; as well as in the issue of selecting the best athletes instead of the most 'francophone' teenagers among youths vying for a position in the delegation. The conflict between the sport purposes and the community development mandate of the Games had an impact on the course of events during the Games and will represent the crux of the analysis in Chapter Six.

3.3 The AFG for community development

It is important, nonetheless, to keep in mind that organizers and volunteers, for the most part, considered that fostering a francophone identity is the primary purpose of the AFG. It is the principal reason for their involvement. They first and foremost committed themselves because of motives associated with community development, not with sport. Of the forty-four organizers who completed a questionnaire for this research, only six of them mentioned the sporting character of the AFG as a reason for their involvement. Volunteers at both the 1996 and 1997 AFG were also asked to complete the same questionnaire. Only two out of the twenty-five respondents at the 1996 Games, and only three out of fifty-seven respondents at the 1997 AFG mentioned sport in their answer to the open-ended question "Why did you decide to volunteer?".[20] Half[21] of all the answers organizers and volunteers at the 1996 and 1997 Games provided were associated to the francophone character of the event, their wish to help or their commitment to youth.

Discussions with organizers and volunteers about the attraction of the 'francophoneness' of the AFG and their role in integrating youth into the community attest to the low priority sport held in their reasons for getting involved. One of the volunteers who acted as assistant-*chef de mission* for the first four AFGs and subsequently joined the Steering Committee of their fifth edition summarized her motivation:

> Moi, je fais ça pour les jeunes, surtout pour les jeunes. (...) C'est leur donner la chance de rencontrer d'autres jeunes francophones de partout en Alberta, la chance de se rencontrer. Parce que le sport c'est important mais c'est surtout pour vivre leur francophonie. C'est surtout cet aspect qui est important pour moi. Donc, c'est pour ça que le culturel aux Jeux francophones est important pour moi aussi. Très important. Et, on sait que c'est par l'entremise des activités sportives qu'on est capable d'aller chercher du monde. Dans ce temps, on peut livrer un message (...) de la fierté d'être francophone, que les jeunes soient fiers de vivre en français. Et qu'ils savent qu'il y en a d'autres. (...) Puis aussi c'est une expérience personnelle, expérience (...)

[20] Not all volunteers at the 1996 and 1997 AFG answered the questionnaire; therefore, these numbers may not reflect the exact proportion of volunteers who took part in the Games because of their sporting interest.
[21] 58.9% of organizers' responses and 48.9% of 1996 and 1997 volunteer responses

> d'organiser des jeux. Parce que ça fait quatre ans qu'on le vit, qu'on va aux Jeux, qu'on voit des choses. Et cette année on avait le goût (...) de voir ce que l'on pouvait offrir aux jeunes.[22] (SJFA/Eb, 1996).

It is their attachment to the francophone community and their concern for its continuance that drove these adults to devote their time to the organization of the AFG. This 'francophone cause' is:

> s'assurer la survie de la francophonie. S'assurer qu'on puisse se donner des occasions pour parler en français. S'assurer qu'on puisse transmettre notre langue, notre culture à nos enfants et qu'eux puissent continuer la relève.[23] (SJFA/Ec, 1997).

Interviews with organizers and volunteers revealed their belief in the wide-ranging positive outcomes of the Games for the community as a whole. Their involvement thus became, for them, a way to contribute to community development. They believed that there is a pressing need for action. As one former executive director of FJA, who was also associated with the AFG, explained, it is not that he did not have other hobbies or interests, but he felt compelled to do something if he wanted to be able to live part of his social relationships in French, to be in a position to eventually raise his children in French, to send them to a francophone school: "Moi, je sens une pression (...): 'Si on veut avoir du français ici, il faut que tu fasses de quoi.'"[24] (FJA/Ed, 1997). Another volunteer and former employee involved with FJA and the AFG stressed the gravity of the situation: "Et je sentais vraiment un sentiment d'urgence face à la francophonie."[25] (FJA/Eb, 1997).

The will to take part in the inception of a project or to complete the task already undertaken, the wish to take up challenges in order to improve the event as well as the simple desire to contribute to the community were also reasons for volunteer involvement connected to community development aims. These volunteers did not wish to participate in just any project: they choose the AFG because they are a francophone event. It is true that some interviewees alluded to the appeal of the sporting character of the project. However, their motivation was not strictly a manifestation of their interest in athletics. They decided to participate in a sport project 'in French' instead of getting involved in the Alberta Summer Games. For instance, to explain his reasons for taking part in the

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[22] "I do it for the teenagers, mostly for the teenagers. (...) It is to give them the opportunity to meet other young francophones from all over Alberta, the opportunity to get together. Because sport is important but it is mainly to live their *francophonie*. It is mostly that aspect that is important to me. So, that is why the cultural dimension of the AFG is important to me also. Very important. And, we know that it is through sporting activities that we can reach and draw people. Then, we can deliver a message of (...) pride in being francophone, that youth be proud of living in French. And that they know that there are others. (...) Moreover, it is a personal experience, an experience (...) in organizing the Games. Because we have been to the Games four years in a row, we see things. And this year we wanted (...) to see what we could offer youth."

[23] "to reassure ourselves as to the *francophonie's* survival. To ensure that we can provide ourselves with opportunities to speak French. To reassure ourselves that we can pass on our language, our culture to our children and that they can take over.

[24] "I feel a pressure [...]: 'If we want to have French here, you have to do something'."

[25] "And I really sensed a feeling of urgency towards the francophonie."

organization of the AFG, the former president of the SJFA, involved with the AFG since the second edition in 1993 and also past president of FJA, answered:

> Premièrement, juste j'imagine la cause francophone avait quelque chose à faire. C'est des valeurs que ma mère m'a passées, et en tout cas, c'est juste la cause francophone. (...) Vraiment toutes les choses qui m'intéressaient c'est le sport. Je faisais des sports continuellement, alors c'est quelque chose qui touchait au fait français et aussi à mes intérêts personnels, juste en général.[26] (SJFA/Ee, 1996).

Their's was a choice between sport and, for instance, theater or other activities and institutions within the community. However, participating in the organization of the AFG (rather than the Alberta Summer Games, for example) was also related to a wish to strengthen the francophone community in Alberta and, especially, to contribute to the vitality of institutions available to francophone youths. Finally, similar to most volunteer undertakings, respondents expected to derive, or reported having benefited from, social advantages, whether it be meeting other francophones, having the opportunity to work with friends or simply having fun. They mentioned as well that through the AFG they achieved career-related outcomes such as gaining experience in related skills like management, administration and communications, in addition to developing a business network. The SJFA specifically seeks to provide its volunteers with training opportunities in management, sport and all other areas involved in the organization of the Games (SJFA, 1995a).

In creating the AFG, organizers followed an approach to community development particularly privileged by francophones; it is an undertaking aimed at consolidating the community's institutional completeness. The idea of institutional completeness was introduced by Breton (1964), a Canadian sociologist who developed the concept through his work on ethnic groups. He focused on the autonomy of cultural groups and his concept refers to the social organization and ability of cultural groups to mobilize resources in order to establish their own network of institutions in religious, educational, political, recreational, professional, commercial, economic and other areas of activity. According to this perspective, the future of francophone communities rests on the development of a dynamic system of institutions that can generate the desire to participate in the community and provide opportunities for participation and contribution. In fact, Breton (1964, 1985a, 1985b) contends that community activities and institutions are what attract individuals on a voluntary basis and what maintains cohesion between community members.

The notion of institutional completeness has greatly influenced the sociological work on francophone communities (Bernard, 1998, 1990a, 1986; Cardinal, Lapointe and Thériault, 1994; Dallaire, 1995; Denis, W.B. 1993a; Guindon, 1984; Landry and Allard, 1994; Savas, 1991) as well as the strategies that francophone communities have adopted in their efforts to survive and prosper. For instance, the FJCF *Vision d'avenir* study and

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[26] "First, I imagine just the francophone cause had something to do with it. Those are values my mother passed on to me, and, in any case, it was simply the francophone cause. (...) Really sport is all that interested me. I played sports continually, so it was something that reached the French fact and my personal interests, just in general."

recommendations--and consequently its francophone youth sport project--were explicitly grounded in this approach.

> C'est par la création d'institutions, dans tous les domaines, dans toutes les sphères de la vie, de l'économie à la famille, en passant par les loisirs, la musique et les sports, les arts et l'école, qu'on favorisera le maintien de la langue et la culture française. Sans institutions, les communautés ne pourront pas maintenir leur culture et, en conséquence, perdront leur langue et leur identité.[27] (FJCF, 1992, p. 143).

The final report stated that the development of francophone communities has focused on three dimensions: the establishment of an institutional infrastructure to fulfill community needs, the creation of organizations to attend to community interests and efforts to provide an *animation communautaire* to entice members to participate and to commit to the community. The commissioners recognized the importance of institutional expansion, but they specified that community development is not simply a question of creating organizations; certain practices and actions need to be promoted within those institutions in order to increase the use of French and to connect these linguistic experiences with culture. The underlying principles of institutional completeness framed how AFG organizers conceived of community development as well as their understanding of the Games' contribution to this process. As one of the volunteers on the Administrative Council of the SJFA succinctly put it: "Développer c'est soit faire grossir des structures qu'on a présentement ou soit en accumuler d'autres."[28] (SJFA/Ea, 1996).

Hence, the establishment of the AFG is consistent with the larger movement of institutional development in francophone communities. Francophones set out to establish organizations like the Church, schools and sociocultural associations as soon as they first settled in the Western provinces. Savas (1991) explains that these early local institutions were for the most part associated with the clergy and accordingly took on a religious character. For instance, historical research on Edmonton's francophone community reveals that religious congregations had established parishes, Catholic schools and hospitals by the early twentieth century (Hart, 1981; Smith, 1985). This organizational structure expanded with the institution of private colleges and sociocultural associations such as the *Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste* (replaced in 1926 with the *Association canadienne-française de l'Alberta* (ACFA)), the publication of a newspaper and the development of *caisses populaires* in addition to co-ops.

These parish infrastructures were undermined during the 1930s as the French representation among the higher ranks of the Western clergy decreased and as the great economic depression prevailed (Lalonde, 1983). At the same time, the first generations of francophones raised in Alberta amongst anglophones and European immigrants did not share their parents' dedication to the "cause" nor to community activities (Hart, 1981, Smith, 1985). Emerging popular culture and the greater availability of public (i.e. non-

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[27] "It is through the creation of institutions, in all domains, in all areas of life from economy to family, including leisure, music, sports, arts and school that we will promote the preservation of French language and culture. Without institutions, communities will not be able to maintain their culture, and as a result, will lose their language and their identity."

[28] "Development is either to expand existing structures or to build more of them."

ethnic, non-religious) entertainment, such as dances and cinema, held more appeal for younger francophones than parish social activities. Not only was the development and continuation of community institutions impeded by the social changes brought on by growing urbanization, increasing mass consumption and new means of communication (Denis, 1994; Lalonde, 1983) and the burgeoning of commercial leisure, but it was also deterred by the francophone defeat in the provincial struggles for French language schools (Cadrin, 1992). Consequently, the institutional structure of francophone communities stagnated and even weakened over the course of the following three decades.

It is only in the 1960s that a secular francophone elite emerged on Alberta's political and cultural scene, leading a new wave of community development which was sustained, in part, by the Quebec Quiet Revolution and by the introduction of federal policies on bilingualism and multiculturalism (Cadrin, 1992; Smith, 1985). The institutional network of Alberta's francophone community thus expanded and now includes organizations and activities in areas such as education, youth, theatre, arts, entrepreneurship and others. But, in spite of the relentless insistence of francophone political claims and the government of Alberta's eventual concessions in francophone educational demands during the 1960s and 1970s (Smith, 1985), and despite the strengthening of the community structure through the creation of organizations by and for francophones, the integration of youths in francophone ranks remained a great challenge. The ubiqity of 'mainstream' (read English language) commercial popular culture has relentlessly increased the assimilative forces acting on all minority youth. The Anglicization of francophones has thus increased during the last thirty years (Allaire and Fedigan, 1993).

The issue of the linguistic shift to English by younger generations is one of the primary concerns among leaders of the organizational structure of francophone communities. In Alberta, this has translated into ongoing struggles with the provincial government for the establishment of French language schools and school boards. The *Fédération des parents francophones de l'Alberta* and its network of resource centers and programs to sustain the primacy of French in francophone families was also created as a result of the fear that younger generations were 'losing their French'. Youth associations also position themselves as important players in the struggle to promote, at the minimum, some sort of francophone affiliation among teenagers. The fact that the FJCF would engage in as extensive a study of the 'assimilation problem' as *Vision d'avenir* [29] attests to young leaders' preoccupation with their peers' linguistic and identity practices and their consequences for francophone communities.

> Cette réalité cruelle, écrasante, opprimante existe. Tous ceux qui connaissent le Canada français savent depuis longtemps que

[29] *Vision d'avenir* was a national undertaking consisting of four volumes. The first three volumes present the research results and an analysis of the state of francophone communities and youth practices. The fourth volume is the final report of the commission. It is based on the aforementioned research and also draws from the 247 briefs submitted by youth and other associations and from public hearings conducted across the country to meet with 192 organizations and individuals (FJCF, 1992).

> l'assimilation linguistique et culturelle est une menace constante à la survie des communautés.[30] (FJCF, 1992, p. 141).

The Alberta youth francophone association also seeks to encourage use of the French language as well as francophone identification among teenagers. Staging the AFG was seen as an effective means for achieving this. Since its creation, FJA has tried to bring together francophone youths through various activities like its 1980s camping events named "Clacs-au-lac", and its continuing leadership workshops. Yet, it is with the AFG that it was the most successful in rallying volunteers and in drawing large numbers of participants. A volunteer in the 1991 delegation to the *Jeux de l'Acadie*, who became founder of the AFG and then, was hired by FJA as the coordinator for the second edition of the Games recalled:

> À l'époque, je trouvais ça fantastique, formidable, tout ce que tu veux. (...) Ça voulait dire pour moi, bon, je me promenais avec mon épinglette des Jeux francophones sur le manteau. J'y croyais vraiment, sincèrement. Ça faisait une différence et les jeunes aimaient beaucoup. (...) Ça a pogné cette activité, comme il n'y a rien dans la jeunesse francophone en Alberta qui a pogné. Parce que ça fait dix ans que je suis impliquée avec FJA et je n'ai jamais vu une activité de FJA, qui est partie de FJA, qui a pogné comme ça.[31] (FJA/Eb, 1997)

Organizers and volunteers dedicated their time and effort to staging the AFG because they were convinced that the event contributes in many different ways to the development of the community. They evidently thought that since participants would be 'immersed' in the language and culture of the community throughout the weekend, they would take advantage of the Games to live their francophone identity and to realize that it is okay to play and speak in French. Many of the respondents also emphasized the need to create a meeting place where youths could forge new friendships with other francophone teenagers from across the province. The president of FJA explained how FJA and the Games:

> permettent aux jeunes de s'épanouir, de s'amuser. Ça permet, ça fait des lieux de rencontres entre amis, des contacts, expériences personnelles, etc. Tout ça, je pense qui est important, qu'on se regroupe, qu'on se tienne ensemble. Et que, entre jeunes francophones que parfois la situation n'est pas toujours facile au niveau qu'on se sent peut-être--ben c'est un fait--mais en minorité. Alors au moins si on se regroupe, on peut partager comment on se sent. Souvent on réalise que

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[30] "This cruel, crushing, oppressing reality exists. All those who know French Canada have long known that linguistic and cultural assimilation is a constant threat to the survival of our communities."

[31] "At the time, I thought it was awesome, great, whatever you want. (...) It meant for me, well, I was walking around with my AFG pin on my jacket. I truly believed in it, sincerely. It made a difference and youth enjoyed it a lot. (...) That activity was the most successful of all with francophone youth in Alberta. Because I have been involved with FJA for ten years and I have never seen an FJA activity, that FJA started, that was so successful."

> les choses sont pareilles pour d'autres. Puis tout cet échange, pour moi, je trouve que c'est spécial, que c'est important.[32] (FJA/Ec, 1997).

Organizers assumed that it is through meeting other young francophones that teenagers would confirm their affiliation to the community:

> Ils rencontrent d'autres gens puis... Parfois quand tu es isolé à Edmonton, bien il y a beaucoup de monde. Il y a quand même assez de francophones [à Edmonton], mais disons que tu es à Plamondon ou ailleurs, tu dis: "Bien qu'est-ce que ça me donne de rester francophone? Qu'est-ce que ça peut bien me donner?" ou "Pourquoi je voudrais tenir ça à coeur?" Et, quand tu vois qu'il y a d'autres jeunes, et il y a des activités, ça pourrait... Ça pourrait les convaincre.[33] (SJFA/Ee, 1996).

In addition, organizers perceived the AFG as a medium to train youth and recruit them as future volunteers and francophone leaders.

> Moi je pense que ça veut dire qu'ils vont apprendre de quoi. Ou qu'ils vont, comme disons, qu'ils vont développer des qualités de leadership, quelque chose comme ça. Et ensuite, quand ils seront prêts ou quand ils voudront, ils pourront être bénévoles pour une autre association ou un organisme et puis partager ce qu'ils auront appris, ou contribuer de cette façon. Ou, des fois, quand tu t'impliques dans les Jeux, tu vois: "Ah, okay, c'est le fun, c'est bien." (...) [T]u es athlète peut-être, et après, cinq ans plus tard, tu t'impliques comme organisateur pour les Jeux ou indirectement. Ou pareil comme les bénévoles qui sont là pour une fin de semaine. Souvent on veut faire de la formation (...) Et après ça, eux peuvent bénéficier de cette formation et aller aider, s'impliquer auprès d'une autre association et donner de leur temps et partager ce qu'ils ont appris avec les autres.[34] (SJFA/Ee, 1996).

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[32] "allow for youths to have fun and to blossom. It allows, it creates a space for meeting friends, contacts, personal experiences, etc. All that, I think is important, that we get together. And that, among francophone youths whose situation is not always easy in the sense that we may feel--well it is a fact--but as a minority. So, if we can at least get together, we can share our feelings. We often realize that things are the same for others. And all that interaction, I think, is special, it is important."

[33] "They meet other people and... Sometimes when you are isolated in Edmonton, well there are many people. There are enough francophones [in Edmonton], but let's say you are in Plamondon or elsewhere, you say: 'Well, what is it worth for me to remain a francophone? What good is it for me?' or 'Why would I care about it?' And then, when you see that there are other teenagers, and there are activities, it could... It could convince them."

[34] "I think that it means that they will learn something. Or they will, let's say, develop leadership qualities, something like that. And then, when they will be ready or when they will want to, they will be able to be volunteers for another association or organization and then share what they will have learned, or contribute in that way. Or, sometimes, when you get involved in the Games, you realize: 'Oh, okay, it's fun, it's okay.' [Y]ou are maybe an athlete and later, five years later, you get involved as an organizer or indirectly. Or it is the same with the volunteers who are there just for the weekend. We often want to do some training (...) And then, they can benefit from this training and help, get involved with another association and give their time and share what they learned with the others."

In a wider perspective, the event also served to gather not only participants, but also a number of volunteers. These volunteers enacted and constituted their attachment to the community by their involvement in the AFG since this volunteer practice confirmed and reproduced their own francophoneness. Through their repeated and reflective actions and work to stage the Games, organizers and volunteers re-affirmed their own belonging to the francophone community while creating a space where participating youths would also, presumably, produce themselves as francophones. Finally, interviewees described the AFG as a symbol that the community is dynamic.

> C'est comme une affiche, un *poster*, où est-ce que ça représente une vitalité. Ça représente un acquis de la communauté. Et puis, c'est pas nécéssairement ça qui va faire la grosse différence par rapport à si les jeunes vont oui ou non parler français, mais ça donne une crédibilité à la communauté. (...) [C]omme quand un jeune de six ans voit qu'il y a des Jeux francophones, voit qu'il y a le Parlement Jeunesse, voit qu'il y a toutes ces choses, ça donne une légitimité aussi, un petit peu, à la communauté.[35] (SJFA/Ee, 1996).

They assumed that the Games grant visibility as well as credibility to the community.

3.4 Developing what community?

Organizers and volunteers put tremendous effort in staging the AFG and they truly cared for the future of the francophone community. They sincerely wanted teenagers to feel part of the community and to identify with it. But nowhere in the documents pertaining to the Games is this community ever described, let alone defined. The meanings of this 'community' and 'identity' were taken for granted. In the promotion of the event, it was assumed that teachers, parents, youths, sponsors, volunteers, and all other groups targeted would automatically undertand the concepts of "communauté franco-albertaine", "notre communauté", "communauté francophone", "notre identité francophone" and "fierté d'être francophone". The idea of francophone community was repeatedly emphasized but no definition was provided. It was implied that one just knows what it is. But what exactly does it mean? This research problematizes the idea of francophone community and identity and examines what it means to be a 'francophone' in the context of the AFG. Who does this identity include? Who does it exclude? On what basis?

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[35] "It is like a poster that represents the vitality. It represents an asset of the community. And it may not necessarily make the biggest difference in encouraging youth to speak French or not, but it gives credibility to the community. (...) [L]ike when a six year old sees there are Francophone Games, there is the *Parlement Jeunesse*, sees all those things, it gives a little bit of legitimacy too to the community."

PART TWO

THE CONSTRUCTION OF FRANCOPHONENESS AT THE ALBERTA FRANCOPHONE GAMES

CHAPTER FOUR - THE AFG AND THE FRANCOPHONE COMMUNITY

4.1 Community building and conflicts over francophoneness

> Finalement, je voudrais remercier, de façon très particuliaire [sic], les participants, bénévoles, spectateurs et partenaires qui nous ont convaincu [sic] plus que jamais que les Jeux ont une place très importante au sein de la communauté franco-albertaine.[1]
> Denis Perreaux, "Mot du président du Comité organisateur", (SJFA, 1996b).

Different definitions of the term "francophone" were articulated in the discursive space of the AFG and indeed in the construction of the community. In fact, the process of building the francophone community is marked by a conflict over what constitutes francophoneness. To paraphrase Butler's comments on the production of women as subjects (1990, p. 2), francophones involved in community building--for instance, in defending francophone rights to a French language education, in establishing francophone institutions, in promoting the use of French, in staging the AFG--are producing the 'francophone'. That is, the 'francophone' is not a pre-existing subject that they need only represent, defend or protect. In community building, francophone leaders and AFG organizers produce the category of 'francophone' and establish criteria that includes some French speakers and excludes others. They thus participate in the discursive struggle to define the francophone.

Organizers I interviewed believed the AFG have a special place in the francophone community since this event constitutes, in their view, an important tool in community building. They recognized, however, that in trying to integrate more French speakers into francophone ranks, they were dealing with different ideas of what or who the 'francophone' is. Organizers were also aware that the labels and expressions they employed to describe the francophone character of the Games carry various divergent meanings. The excluding effect of terms used in the context of the AFG was added as an item for discussion at the June 1996 SJFA Annual General Meeting (SJFA, 1996f). In the months leading to the AGM, at least two former organizers had expressed their concerns to the president of the SJFA regarding the name "Alberta Francophone Games".[2] According to these organizers, the term "francophone" does not include all French speakers involved in the event. They felt that some of the actual or potential participants, organizers and volunteers were not 'true' francophones and consequently

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[1] "Finally, I would like to particularly thank the participants, volunteers, spectators and partners who have convinced us more than ever that the Games hold a very important place in the Franco-Albertan community."

[2] Throughout this dissertation I refer to the Games and the SJFA committees by using the English titles the SJFA uses in its English language documentation. The French name of the Games, *Jeux francophones de l'Alberta*, has been translated to "Alberta Francophone Games". The SJFA uses the English version of the name in documents such as bilingual press kits (SJFA, 1996c, 1996j) and a partnership proposal put forward to the City of St. Albert and its school boards (SJFA, 1996i). The 1996 Annual General Meeting was held in French, thus the discussion focused on the French version of the Games' name.

found themselves excluded from the official image of the AFG. Therefore, the concerned organizers called for a name change to better represent all French speakers taking part in the Games.

Since neither of the former *chefs de mission* who had raised the issue of the exclusiveness of the term "francophone" attended the AGM, the president of the SJFA outlined the problem. His take on the issue was that the term "francophone" was perceived as referring specifically to *ayants droits*[3] thus excluding other French speakers (SJFA, 1996f). Not only did this pose a problem for organizers who felt they were not included in the name of the Games, but the excluding effect of the term "francophone" also hampered the recruitment of participants. On a few occasions parents or school administrators approached during the campaign to recruit participants would retort that their children or students were not "francophones". In short, the president explained, "ils ne se voient pas là-dedans"[4] (Dallaire, 1996-1997).

While the president opened the debate by soliciting suggestions of names that would be more appropriate for the Games, it was clear from the comments of those who spoke to the issue that they were not prepared to change it. Organizers argued for the status quo for reasons such as: the Games were now established with that name; a new name would entail devising a new marketing plan to "sell" the Games; it would be too much trouble to officially change the name; and, the term "francophones" qualifies the event, not the participants (SJFA, 1996f). Rather than focusing on how the name of the Games could be changed or modified to make sure all participants could identify with it, the discussion focused on how to convince these 'others' that they were indeed welcome at the AFG (Dallaire, 1996-1997).

At one point in the discussion, the president commented that most people around the table that day were *de souche* whereas for some organizers (presumably not *de souche*) the exclusiveness of the name was a major problem. The issue was significant enough, he continued, that these *chefs de mission* could not envision continuing their involvement under such conditions. He thus proposed the name *Jeux de l'Alberta*. Since the name was French, there should be no need to add a francophone qualifier, just as the

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[3] Section 23 of the 1982 Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms describes minority language educational rights. The term "ayants droits" is used by French speakers in Alberta to refer to youths who have the right to French language education or to parents who have the right to send their children to a French language education program. The *ayants droits* in Alberta then are:

"23. (1) Citizens of Canada

a) whose first language learned and still understood is that of the (...) French linguistic minority population of the province in which they reside, or

b) who have received their primary school instruction in Canada (...) in French and reside in a province where the language in which they received that instruction is the language of the (...) French linguistic minority population of the province

have the right to have their children receive primary and secondary school instruction in that language in that province.

(2) Citizens of Canada of whom any child has received or is receiving primary or secondary school instruction in (...) French in Canada, have the right to have all their children receive primary and secondary school instruction in the same language." (*Constitution Act, 1982*, in Pocklington, 1994, p. 445)

Throughout my fieldwork, I have come across the term "ayants droits" many times and it was mostly used to refer to youths (as opposed to parents). Its common use stems from the important and significant francophone struggles in Alberta to obtain francophone schools and, most recently francophone school boards, by demanding the recognition of their Charter rights.

[4] "they do not recognize themselves in that name"

Parlement Jeunesse (another province-wide activity founded by FJA for French speakers) did not include a label of francophoneness. This way, the name of the Games would include all French speakers. But other organizers had reached a consensus, the name "Alberta Francophone Games" would remain. They recommended that the SJFA adopt a marketing strategy to convince potential participants that all French speakers were invited to participate at all levels of the AFG.[5] If others (perhaps, French speakers not *de souche*) did not recognize themselves in the name of the event, efforts had to be devoted to changing those inaccurate perceptions.

This chapter sets the AFG in the context of the Alberta francophone community. Organizers and volunteers performed and produced themselves as members of the community through their involvement in staging the AFG. I begin by describing their linguistic and demographic characteristics as well as their active participation in francophone institutions and activities. This information illustrates their 'francophoneness'. Who are these organizers articulating truths about the francophone? As the president observed at the AGM, organizers shared a particular relationship to French language which can influence their perspective about francophoneness. None of those present at the AGM appeared to feel excluded by the name of the Games. Why would that be?

To further contextualize the AFG and to situate them in the institutional network of the community, I briefly outline the relationships between the SJFA and other francophone organizations involved in the discursive struggle to define the francophone. I conclude this account of the context of the Games by returning to the proclaimed 'community' dimension of the Games. Founders of the AFG wanted to reproduce the Acadian experience where athletes were cheered and welcomed by a large audience, by a community. But where was the community at the AFG?

4.2 The AFG in the context of the community's institutional network

Here, I wish to concentrate on the key dimension of francophoneness established in *Vision d'avenir* and at the AFG: speaking French. It is important to describe AFG organizers' and volunteers' relationship with, and practice of, French language to better understand the statements they articulated. It is also useful to map out the institutional context of the AFG and the structural links between SJFA and other organizations promoting the use of French among French speakers in Alberta. Again, this helps situate and compare the ideas of francophoneness produced in the context of the Games with those promoted by other francophone organizations.

The final recommendations of *Vision d'avenir* were based on an analysis of the 1986 Canadian census results. According to the research Bernard (1990b) presented to the *Vision d'avenir* commissioners, "assimilation" was an ever growing problem among francophones, especially in the West. For instance, his study pointed to a rate of ethnocultural continuity of only 49.3% for Alberta (p. 183). In other words, French was the first language of less than half of Albertans of single French ethnic origins. Moreover, less than a fifth of Albertans of French ethnic origins declared speaking only

[5] Through my fieldwork, I attended subsequent Administrative Council meetings and the 1997 AGM and have concluded that such a marketing strategy was not discussed nor put in place.

French at home (p. 184). His research also revealed that the use of French as the home language among the population of French mother tongue in Alberta had decreased from 42.0% in 1981 (p. 186) to 32.6% in 1986 (p. 187). Furthermore, 55.3% of 15 to 19 year old Albertans with French as a first language had shifted to English as home language. These increasing rates of Anglicization, he concluded, were decimating francophone ranks. Thus, the future of francophone communities was threatened.

Such was the somber picture Bernard (1990b) painted of the ethnocultural, ethnolinguistic and linguistic continuity rates of francophones in Alberta. The criteria Bernard (1990b) used to measure francophoneness were of particular significance for my own doctoral research on francophone identity at the AFG. Indeed, it is important to underline that *Vision d'avenir*, the FJCF commission that sparked the creation of youth francophone games, focused on the use of French language. In other words, French speakers are the targets of such games and the potential members, broadly speaking, of the community. The key indicator of francophoneness for Bernard (1990b), the FJCF and AFG organizers was clearly the performance of French language.

Bernard (1990b) measured the practice of the French language in two specific groups of French speakers, the population of French ethnicity and the population with French as mother tongue. These two additional criteria served to restrict the definition of 'francophone' to certain types of French speakers. For instance, Bernard's (1990b) analysis of the ethnocultural or ethnolinguistic continuity rates does not include Canadians of French origins who declared having more than one ethnic origin, such as French and British. The restricting effects of such criteria will be discussed in Chapter Five.

4.2.1 AFG organizers and volunteers

Who are AFG organizers and volunteers? Their questionnaire answers give us some valuable information on their common relationship to French language: for over 90% of organizers and volunteers, French was their first language and their parents' first language. In this sense, they were different from most French-speaking Albertans since only 29,3% of the total number of Albertans who reported knowledge of French language (Statistics Canada, 1997c) declared having French as their only mother tongue[6] in the 1996 Canadian census (Statistics Canada, 1997a). Beyond this important similarity among organizers and volunteers, there are some other characteristics that are slightly different between the two groups.

4.2.1.1 Organizers The term "organizers" includes the leaders on the Administrative Council of the SJFA, the members of SJFA committees (Steering Committee and the committee for the *Golf par excellence* [7]), SJFA employees and the *chefs de mission*. It also includes FJA employees or Administrative Council members that participated in SJFA meetings or were directly involved in staging the AFG. Over the course of my

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[6] Statistics Canada used the following definition for first language/mother tongue: "the first language learned at home in childhood and still understood by the individual at the time of the census" (Statistics Canada, 1997d, p. 2).

[7] The *Golf par excellence* is a fundraising golf tournament for the SJFA annually held in June.

fieldwork, I asked all organizers I encountered between April 1996 and July 1997 to complete my research questionnaire. In total, forty-four organizers answered the questionnaire.[8] Table 1 presents the results of this survey. As previously noted almost all of them declared having French as their only mother tongue. Two organizers reported having two first languages, French and English. Only one respondent did not have French as a first language. Organizers came from French-speaking families in that their parents were of French mother tongue and their home language was French, or French and English[9]. Whereas three quarters of organizers spoke only French at home, only 8.8% of French-speaking Albertans declared having French as a home language (Statistics Canada, 1997b).

Organizers' francophone affiliation is also what defines them the most. In fact, almost all organizers chose an identity that specifically underlines their francophoneness, namely French Canadian, Franco-Albertan, Francophone, Acadian and *Fransaskois*. Three respondents identified themselves as Quebecers. While this term can take on various definitions I would argue that organizers most probably chose it to mark their francophoneness in addition to their province of origin or nationhood. Two respondents identified themselves as Canadians which, depending on the definition they attributed to this term, could also point to their francophoneness. In fact, during my fieldwork I have noticed that some French speakers understood the term Canadian as implying Canadian citizenship and knowledge of both official languages (as opposed to the most common meaning that only points to citizenship). Indeed, they conceived of Canada as a bilingual country, therefore Canadian citizenship in their view assumes the ability to speak French and English.[10]

As noted in Chapter Two, most organizers could be described as young adults since three quarters of them were under 30 years old. Half of all organizers were 17 to 25 years old. This can be explained by the fact that the provincial youth association instituted the AFG and is still very much involved in the event. Employees of FJA and its most dedicated volunteers in Edmonton are in their early to mid twenties. When organizing events and activities they most certainly turn for help to the FJA volunteer network and to friends their own age. Like FJA activities, the AFG are conceived of as being staged by youth, for youth.

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[8] This represents almost all organizers. I asked all SJFA organizers to complete the questionnaire, except one employee who worked on a short-term contract. And as I explained in Chapter Three, one *chef de mission* refused to participate in this survey.

[9] Both organizers who answered having English as a current home language were from Quebec and in both cases their parents had French as first language. They now shared accommodations with English speaking individuals.

[10] I am not sure if this is wishful thinking on their part. If not, how would they describe the majority of Canadian citizens who can not speak French? The point of my research however was not to evaluate how realistic or applicable their ideas about francophoneness were, but rather to identify those ideas producing francophone identity.

Table 1. Questionnaire results - Organizers (total = 44 respondents)[11]		
AGE	17 to 25 years old	21
	26 to 30 years old	11
	31 years old and over	11
SEX	women	21
	men	23
FIRST LANGUAGE	French	40
	French and English	2
	English	1
MOTHER'S FIRST LANGUAGE		
French		42
Other		
FATHER'S FIRST LANGUAGE		
French		44
PLACE OF BIRTH	Quebec	24
	Alberta	12
	Other provinces	7
	France	1
LANGUAGE OF EDUCATION		
French		30
French and English		9
French immersion		3
French and French immersion		1
English		1
HOME LANGUAGE	French	34
	French and English	8
	English	2
LANGUAGE USED WITH FRIENDS		
French and English		24
French		18
English		2
PARTICIPATION IN OTHER FRANCOPHONE ACTIVITIES		
Yes		43
No		1
CLAIMED IDENTITY[12]	French Canadian	15
	Francophone	9
	Franco-Albertan	7
	Quebecer	3
	Canadian	2
	Acadian	1
	Fransaskois	1

[11] The total number of answers within each category is sometimes less than 44 since not all questionnaires were completely answered.

[12] This category provides their answers to the question: Which term identifies you best? The results provided here only include the term respondents identified as the most important. Answers that included more than one term without placing them in order of priority are excluded from this analysis

Table 2. Questionnaires results - Volunteers
(1996 AFG = 25 respondents and 1997 AFG = 57 respondents)[13]

			1996	1997
AGE	25 years old and less		14	26
	26 to 30 years old		9	7
	31 years old and over		1	24
SEX	women		14	39
	men		11	18
FIRST LANGUAGE	French		23	51
	French and English		1	3
	English		1	2
MOTHER'S FIRST LANGUAGE		French	23	48
		Other	1	3
FATHER'S FIRST LANGUAGE		French	22	50
		Other	2	5
PLACE OF BIRTH	Quebec		15	18
	Alberta		7	28
	Other provinces		2	5
LANGUAGE OF EDUCATION				
French			17	34
French and French immersion			3	2
French immersion			2	4
English			1	4
French and English			-	11
French, English and immersion			-	1
HOME LANGUAGE	French		19	42
	French and English		3	12
	English		2	2
LANGUAGE USED WITH FRIENDS				
French			12	29
French and English			11	32
English			-	5
PARTICIPATION IN OTHER FRANCOPHONE ACTIVITIES				
Yes			16	53
No			8	3
CLAIMED IDENTITY[14]	French Canadian		10	27
	Francophone		3	1
	Franco-Albertan		4	5
	Quebecer		3	6
	Canadian		3	8
	Fransaskois		-	1
	Bilingual Canadian		-	1
	Bilingual		-	1

[13] The total number of answers within each category is sometimes less than 25 in 1996 and less than 57 in 1997 since not all questionnaires were completely answered.

[14] This category provides their answers to the question: Which term identifies you best? The results provided here only include the term respondents identified as the most important. Answers that included more than one term without placing them in order of priority are excluded from the analysis

The most interesting information the questionnaires reveal is that more than half of the organizers was born in Quebec. I would estimate that at least nineteen of them had been in Alberta for approximately five years or less. It is surprising to note that less than a third of AFG organizers are from Alberta. Yet, as I have explained in Chapter Three, all of them were committed to community building and to the preservation of French language in this province. Obviously, the French speakers from Quebec involved as AFG organizers did not believe that being born outside Alberta precluded them from pledging allegiance to the Alberta francophone community and from contributing to its development.[15] The greater proportion of French speakers from Quebec could perhaps be explained by the fact that having experienced living in French differently than those born and raised in Alberta they may have more of a propensity to be devoted to the "francophone cause". Having experienced French as the language of the majority in Quebec and having produced themselves more spontaneously as francophones while in Quebec they could be more likely to want to continue to live in French in Alberta also. Thus, they would be highly concerned by the precariousness of the French language in Alberta. Furthermore, if many of these organizers originally from Quebec are newcomers to Alberta, their volunteer involvement in the francophone community may be a means for them to meet other francophones and to facilitate their integration into the community.

The interviews and fieldwork reveal that organizers were active in francophone associations and institutions. FJA contacts and the francophone institutional network played a significant role in recruiting organizers. At least eighteen organizers were currently or had been previously involved in FJA and six organizers were, at the time, employees of regional divisions of the ACFA. Thus, more than half of the organizers was institutionally integrated into the community through FJA or other associations and activities. In fact, interviews with organizers born in Alberta and involved, or formerly involved, in FJA reveal that their active participation in the youth association played an important role in the development of their self-identification as francophones and as community members. A former FJA member, employee and executive-director explained:

> Pour moi, c'était ma piqûre. C'est là que j'ai réalisé: "Ben oui! Je suis francophone. Je ne peux pas le nier puis je ne devrais pas avoir honte de l'être." (...) J'ai rencontré plein de gens qui étaient juste surpris que je parlais encore français. Dans ce temps là, j'avais beaucoup de misère à le parler. J'avais presque perdu mon français. Ça fait que en allant [aux activités de FJA] ça m'a donné le goût, la fierté. (...) [C]'est de là que ça a créé un peu cette appartenance à une communauté. C'est vraiment une appartenance à une communauté vivante. Avant, je savais que je faisais toujours partie d'une communauté. Mais partie de la commuanuté c'était juste être membre d'une famille francophone.

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[15] But it does not necessarily mean that French speakers born in the province automatically considered Quebecers or other French speakers born elsewhere as members of 'their' community.

> (...) Alors, [FJA] m'a fait voir que c'est possible de vivre en français. J'ai pris goût et j'ai continué.[16] (SJFA/Ec, 1997).

His involvement with the AFG, as for many FJA members, was a way for him to contribute to youth activities and a way to give back to an association that had played an important role in the construction of his francophone identity.

Other organizers were teachers and *moniteurs de langue* in francophone and French immersion schools. In total, fifteen organizers were somehow involved with the francophone or French immersion school systems.[17] Some of the teachers and *moniteurs de langue* most recently arrived in Alberta did not necessarily have strong links to FJA or other francophone associations. They had been actively recruited as *chefs de mission* by the Steering Committee who was trying to gain a better access to schools and French-speaking students. Their connection to the francophone institutional network was mainly their school employment. Other teachers, however, were also active in the francophone institutional network.

Evidently, most organizers were connected to the institutional infrastructure whether directly through their involvement in francophone institutions or indirectly through their participation in francophone activities. In fact, all but one recently arrived organizer[18] participated in other francophone events such as the *Parlement Jeunesse*, the *Cabane à sucre*, the *Fête franco-albertaine*, theater, the *Carnaval de St. Isidore*, the *Gala de la chanson* and organizations such as FJA, the *Association des gens d'affaires de l'Alberta*, the ACFA, the *Chevaliers de Colomb*, the *Radio communautaire* in Falher, the *Scouts* and more. These French speakers were not only participants in community events, but they were also organizers and volunteers for other francophone activities as well, that is apart from the AFG. All of those who had come to the Games through FJA had held key positions in the youth association as employees, as members of the Administrative Council, as founders and/or organizers of the AFG and the *Parlement jeunesse*, or as volunteers responsible for activities such as the ball-hockey tournament *Brasse-toé à Calgary*. Organizers working for the regional ACFA offices were also obviously involved in community building.

4.2.1.2 Volunteers Like organizers, AFG volunteers had French as a first language, came from French-speaking families and participated in community activities. The term "volunteers" represents the individuals who helped the Steering Committee throughout the weekend event. These individuals did not hold a position in the AFG institutional structure and they were not involved in the decision-making process.

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[16] "For me, that is what piqued my interest. That is when I realized: 'Well yes! I am a francophone. I can not deny it and I should not be ashamed of it." (...) I met plenty of people who were simply surprised that I could still speak French. At that time, I had a hard time speaking it. I had almost lost my French. Going to [FJA activities] gave me the taste, the pride. (...) [I]it is there that it created a little of this belonging to a community. It is really a belonging to a living community. Before, I knew that I was part of a community. But being part of a community was simply being from a francophone family. (...) So [FJA] showed me that it is possible to live in French. I liked it and I continued."

[17] These French speakers were linked to schools as teachers, *moniteurs de langues*, *animateurs culturels* and parents volunteering in school activities. The youngest organizer was a high school student.

[18] This organizer was a *moniteur de langue* and resided in Canmore where there are few or no francophone activities outside the French immersion school environment.

However, they did assume responsibilities and were for instance in charge of preparing meals, supervising competitions and compiling results.

Table 2 presents the questionnaire results of volunteers at both the 1996 and 1997 AFG[19]. The results reveal slight differences between the 1996 and 1997 volunteer groups. At the 1996 AFG, like organizers, a greater proportion of volunteers who answered the research questionnaire were born in Quebec than in Alberta. However, at the 1997 Games in Falher, more volunteers were from Alberta. A second difference between the Edmonton and Falher groups is the age of the volunteers. In 1996, almost all the volunteers who filled the questionnaire were younger than 30 years old. Although I can not infer from these results that most 1996 volunteers were younger than 30 years old since only a quarter of all volunteers answered the questionnaire, my observations of the AFG do confirm that a good proportion of volunteers at the Edmonton Games were young adults, many of whom were linked to FJA. Whereas the 1996 AFG were a youth effort, the 1997 AFG seemed to be more of a community effort in the sense that many generations of French-speakers were involved. At the Falher Games, about half the volunteers were 25 years or younger, but another half was over 30 years old. The age spread was also much wider in 1997, with respondents from 15 to 77 years old while volunteer respondents at the 1996 AFG were 11 to 44 years old. At the Falher Games I saw young children helping their parents and grandparents prepare meals and help with other tasks throughout the weekend. I felt that it gave a 'family' atmosphere to the Games.

It appears obvious that AFG organizers and volunteers represented a specific and limited group among Alberta French speakers. They have close ties to French language and perform in French more often than most French speakers. Those born in Alberta have been raised in families where French is the mother tongue and home language. Organizers from Quebec have French as their first language and have most probably lived at least part of their lives in a predominantly French-speaking environment. The majority of organizers and volunteers have received at least part of their education in French. While French is not the only language of communication with friends, it is still prominent in organizers' and volunteers' social relationships. The importance of French language in their lives is further exemplified by their active involvement in francophone activities, associations and institutions. In addition, their attachment to French language is expressed in the labels they felt identified them the best, namely French Canadian, Francophone, Franco-Albertan, *Fransaskois* and Quebecer. Identities such as bilingual Canadian and bilingual also specifically connote, at least in part, an affiliation to French language. The Canadian identity is more ambiguous but it could encompass a francophone dimension as well.

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[19] Unlike my survey of organizers, the volunteer questionnaire results provide only a partial picture since I collected a limited amount of completed volunteer questionnaires. However, the results I have obtained do point to the similarities between volunteers' and organizers' relationship to French language and the differences between French speakers involved in staging the AFG and the overall French-speaking population in Alberta.

4.2.2 The AFG and francophone institutions

AFG organizers and volunteers were affiliated to francophone associations, namely FJA, the ACFA and francophone schools. The SJFA is itself connected to these francophone organizations. In fact, the SJFA's relationship to these organizations represents its principal links to the francophone institutional network. It is helpful to situate the SJFA's structural position among other francophone organizations involved in the discursive struggle to define the francophone.

Many organizations contribute to the institutional completeness[20] of the Alberta francophone community. The 1998 annual directory of organizations, businesses and professionals that offer services in French listed more than 250 entries. The SJFA approaches many of these in the process of staging the AFG. For example, fundraising efforts for the *Golf par excellence* tournament are directed towards many of these professionals and business people. French language media organizations are used to promote the AFG. And *Société Radio-Canada* not only publicizes the Games through its local television and radio stations, it also participates as a major sponsor of the Games. While many of these organizations, businesses and groups are involved in the production of francophone identity and community, it is not their mandate or primary objective.

This research focuses on the relationships between the SJFA and francophone associations in Alberta that participate actively in producing truths about the francophone, or more precisely, different types of francophones.[21] The following description of the institutional context of the SJFA focuses on associations that represent different constituents of French speakers and therefore contribute to the debate on francophone identity and community. The organizations included in this research are *Francophonie Jeunesse de l'Alberta* (FJA), the *Association canadienne-française de l'Alberta* (ACFA), the *Société acadienne de l'Alberta*, the *Association multiculturelle francophone de l'Alberta* (AMFA), the *Alliance française* as well as organizations affiliated with French language education namely francophone and French immersion schools, the *Fédération des parents francophones* (FPFA) and the *Société pour une école publique*.

4.2.2.1 Francophonie Jeunesse de l'Alberta FJA was founded in 1972 for 14 to 25 year old youths. It is a member of the *Fédération de la jeunesse canadienne-française* (FJCF) and a few of its youth leaders were also active at the national francophone youth level. At least three AFG organizers, former FJA leaders, had been involved in the FJCF. And, in fact, one of them was a commissioner for the *Vision d'avenir* project. Again, it is important to underline the impact of *Vision d'avenir* for youth associations such as FJA who participated in the commission's research process, who presented briefs and/or

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[20] (viz., Breton)

[21] While this research focuses on the AFG and their role within the francophone community, the SJFA does interact with institutions outside the community throughout the process of staging the AFG. For instance, organizers solicit funds from Heritage Canada, from the *Bureau du Quebec* and from the Alberta government. These state institutions' decisions to contribute financial resources or not are mostly tied to their beliefs about the francophoneness of the AFG. Indeed, state policies and interventions contribute to the production of ideas and truths about the francophone, both within francophone communities and in the larger Canadian society. However, this present research concentrates on the production of francophoneness by actors within the community.

attended hearings and, who, most importantly, valued its final report and recommendations.

The membership and the mandate of FJA have fluctuated over the years. For instance, one former executive-director recalls that some time after the adoption of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, FJA focused specifically on serving young *ayants droits*. But, when the leadership of the association changed, the membership was extended to all French-speaking youths including those attending French immersion schools (FJA/Ed, 1997). Article 8 of the current statutes and regulations stipulates that to be a member of FJA, a youth has to be a French speaker. A French speaker is defined as "une personne qui utlise déjà le français comme langue de communication orale, soit comme langue maternelle ou langue seconde"[22] (FJA, 1996a, p.3). Many recent documents use the terminology "jeunes d'expression française" to identify FJA members. But, a few documents, such as the 1996 triennial strategic planning report (FJA, 1996c), do refer to members as "francophones" and "francophiles", presumably to demonstrate that the association caters to all French speakers. Yet, the use of two different labels acknowledges a certain difference among the members with regards to their mother tongue or the type of school they attend (francophone vs. French immersion).

At the time FJA created the AFG, its mission was to promote "French Canadian" culture and to further the development of francophone youth in Alberta (FJA, 1993b). By 1996, the mission statement of the association had profoundly changed and was again slightly modified at the 1997 AGM. Since April 1997, the FJA mandate is to "stimuler la jeunesse albertaine d'expression française à se découvrir et à vivre son plein potentiel"[23] (FJA, 1997a). Removing the idea of "French Canadian" culture from the mission statement was a deliberate attempt to expand the notion of francophoneness:

> Je pense que c'était très intentionnel, où est-ce que [culture] canadienne-française ça voulait dire d'origine Québécoise, et les jeunes voyaient vraiment une ouverture à quelque chose de plus gros que ça. Si on était pour dire que c'était Francophonie Jeunesse... Oui, la grande majorité probablement c'est des gens qui viennent du Québec (...) Il y avait eu beaucoup de discussion où l'on ne voulait pas exclure du monde qui venait de Haïti, qui venait de l'Afrique, qui venait de même la France ou *wherever else,* ou des jeunes d'immersion. Et même dans tout le jargon de FJA, ils utilisent très rarement "canadien-français".[24] (FJA/Ed, 1997).

Thus FJA was attempting to include young French speakers who were not necessarily from French Canadian origins. However, to date it had limited success in attracting such youths (FJA/Ed, 1997; FJA/Ee, 1997). While the concept of "French Canadian" culture is no longer a part of the mission statement, the idea of culture has not completely

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[22] "someone who already uses French in verbal communication, whether it is their first or second language"
[23] "to encourage Alberta French-speaking youth in finding themselves and living to their full potential."
[24] I think that it was very intentional, where French Canadian meant of Quebecois origins, and the youths were thinking of opening it to something larger. If we were going to call it *Francophonie Jeunesse*... Yes, the big majority probably came from Quebec (...). There was a lot of discussion where we did not want to exclude people that came from Haiti, Africa, even from France or wherever else, or immersion youths. And in FJA jargon, "French Canadian" is rarely used.

disappeared. FJA does view its role as reaching to all French speaking youths in order to integrate them in a "community rich in culture" (FJA, 1996c), it simply does not always name this culture.

FJA recruits most of its members through secondary schools and it is affiliated with student councils in francophone schools. One of its important undertakings is the provision of leadership sessions for students. FJA plays an important role in recruiting and training future francophone leaders. Youths involved in this association gain important experience and also valuable knowledge concerning the francophone community. Through FJA, they are integrated into a specific network of organizations and they participate in the process of 'governing' the community through the *Tables de concertation* as well as the ACFA *Bureau des Présidents*. In short, "FJA est un centre d'incubation pour des leaders"[25] (FJA/Ed, 1997).

When I started my fieldwork, the SJFA was structurally responsible for staging the AFG, but it was a fairly new organization. FJA had founded the AFG and staged the first two editions of the Games. The third AFG in 1995 were held under the auspices of the SJFA but involved the same group of organizers who had previously worked under FJA. Throughout my fieldwork, the SJFA was still in development. Among other changes, two separate committees were established, on the one hand, to govern the association and, on the other hand, to organize the Games. The committee for the *Golf par excellence* was also integrated into the SJFA structure. During this time, the SJFA was also in the process of establishing itself as an independent organization, that is, distinct from FJA.

However, the SJFA and FJA were still very much connected. For one thing, as I have mentioned above, many of the AFG organizers and volunteers had been involved with or still revolved around both associations:

> On a de la difficulté à différencier [SJFA] de FJA parce qu'essentiellement, c'est soit du monde qu'on a vu à FJA, soit du monde qu'on voit à FJA, soit du monde qui gravite autour de FJA, soit du monde qui fait partie de FJA.[26] (ACFA/Ea, 1997).

The SJFA was officially constructed on paper as a separate organization with its own set of statutes and regulations and Administrative Council. Nevertheless, FJA was still closely involved in staging the AFG. They cooperated greatly with the SJFA by sharing office space with the new organization and by providing financial and human resources. For instance, the FJA executive-director not only participated in the April 20, 1996, General Council meeting but he also took part in the "emergency" lunch time meeting to deal with the low number of participant registrations. Moreover, he collaborated in the ensuing provincial recruitment "blitz" (Dallaire, 1996-1997). This example illustrates how FJA was still structurally involved in staging the fourth Games. By the fifth edition, FJA was more removed from the actual organization of the Games since these were organized by a Steering Committee in Falher with the help of the regional Peace River office of the ACFA. But FJA continued to promote the AFG in its own documentation,

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[25] "FJA is an incubation center for leaders"

[26] "We find it difficult to differentiate between [SJFA] and FJA because it is, basically, either people we have seen at FJA, either people that revolve around FJA, either people that are part of FJA."

such as its 1997 promotional package (FJA, 1997b), and during its events such as the 1997 General Meeting. Both associations are still housed in the same office and share many leaders and volunteers, which continues to create some confusion. On many occasions during my fieldwork, I observed that various French speakers did not know that an independent organization had been created to stage the AFG or even if they were aware of the SJFA, they still connected both the Games and SJFA to FJA.

4.2.2.2 Association canadienne-française de l'Alberta The ACFA is the self-declared representative and head of Alberta francophones. The federal government also recognizes its leaders as the official spokespersons for the province's francophones. This organization is historically linked with the promotion of French Canadian ethnicity. The ACFA was created in 1926, in a political reorganization of the community, to replace the *Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste* (Smith, 1985). The latter had been founded in 1894 to promote "French Canadian nationalism" (Cadrin, 1989; Hart, 1981). Canadians of French origins or Catholic French speaking foreigners were allowed membership in the *Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste*. It was expected however that the honorary president would be a "French Canadian" (Hart, 1981). In Alberta, French Canadian ethnicity was the most prominent form of francophoneness promoted within the organized francophone community as revealed by the work of authors discussing the early years of the community (Cadrin, 1989, 1992; Hart, 1981; Levasseur-Ouimet, 1996; Trottier, Munroe and Allaire, 1980). Catholicism was, at the time of the *Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste* and the early years of the ACFA, an important dimension of French Canadian identity. Furthermore, priests administered the ACFA and members of the Catholic clergy until the 1960s when it was secularized (ACFA/Ec, 1997; Smith, 1985).

When it was founded, the ACFA was meant to become the "official spokesperson for French-Canadians in Alberta. Its mandate would be to foster French-language education, and see to the economic and cultural development of strong communities linked by the mass media." (ACFA, 1996, p. 4). A major part of the association's efforts was focused on the struggle to secure French language education but the ACFA also founded a newspaper, established a radio station, and encouraged the creation of credit unions and cooperatives.

Today, the mandate of the ACFA is no longer officially linked to French Canadian ethnicity. Any individual who can communicate in French can join the association and support the pursuit of the following objectives: to represent all of the province's "francophones", to promote the intellectual, cultural and social well-being of "francophones", to facilitate French language education, to encourage the economic development of "francophones", to establish contacts with the larger "francophonie" to sustain friendly relationships with Alberta's anglophones and different ethnic groups[27] (ACFA, 1992). The terminology in some of the official documentation has certainly changed in recent years with a shift to terms such as "francophones" instead of "French Canadian". But, unlike FJA and the SJFA, the ACFA does not use the phrase "French

[27] It is unclear if the term "ethnic groups" includes French speaking cultural groups, such as French, Belgian or Rwandan groups, or if refers only to those cultural groups who speak a language other than French. One would assume that if any French-speaking Albertan can join the association, and if the ACFA officially represents all French speakers, French speakers identified as "ethnic" would be recognized as part of the ACFA constituency.

speaker" to describe its membership. The association may officially be open to all French speakers, but those of French Canadian origins arguably remain its principal constituency and the focus of many of its strategies and interventions. In April 1999, the ACFA had a paid membership of approximately 5,000 francophones, which represents about 3% of all French speakers in Alberta according to the 1996 Canadian census results.

The association still owns a French language weekly newspaper currently titled *Le Franco*, which has a province-wide circulation of approximately 3,000. The ACFA is also the sole shareholder of the bookstore *Le Carrefour*, which offers French language merchandise such as books, greeting cards, compact discs and more. The radio station was sold to *Société Radio-Canada* (SRC) and became CHFA, a French language station integrated in the SRC radio network. The structure of the ACFA includes a provincial office in charge, among other things, of political lobbying (ACFA/Eb, 1997) and regional divisions that focus on developing and sustaining the francophone infrastructure and social life in their respective regions. The regional offices, for instance, each organize their annual *Cabane à sucre*, while the leaders of the provincial office meet with provincial and federal politicians.

In 1994, the ACFA, on behalf of the Alberta francophone community, signed the *Entente Canada-communauté Alberta* with Heritage Canada. This agreement stems from the federal Official languages Act and federal policies to fund minority linguistic communities. In the context of this agreement, the ACFA is responsible for the implementation of the community consultation process which includes *Tables de concertation*. Following the federal government's stipulations, the *Tables de concertation* gather francophone organizations in an exercise of discussion and deliberation meant to identify the community's development priorities. The purpose of this planning process is to encourage the self-determination of the community by bringing community organizations together to determine what should be the funding priorities. Heritage Canada is then expected to follow the community's self-chosen development objectives in allocating resources to francophone organizations in the province.

This decision-making mechanism plays a role in the debate about who counts as a francophone in the province. According to the federal agreement with the Alberta francophone community, the ACFA must invite and include in this consultation process all "francophone" non-profit organizations, meaning groups that represent French speakers and/or serve them. Since the *Tables de concertation* and other strategies put in place in the context of the *Entente* seek to ensure the self-determination of the francophone community and to determine priorities for community building, the participation or absence of organizations representing specific French-speaking constituencies is quite relevant. The consultation process is for "the community", thus participating organizations can promote their own views about francophoneness and help establish truths about who is actually included in the community.

The SJFA participates in the *Tables de concertation* exercise, thus strengthening its relationship with the ACFA and forging its place within the federally recognized network of francophone organizations. At the December 1996 provincial *Tables de concertation*, an ACFA employee proposed that regional ACFA offices assume the responsibility of finding the AFG *chefs de mission* for their respective region, thus confirming the link

between the SJFA and the ACFA (Dallaire, 1996-1997). Another demonstration of the connection SJFA pursues with the ACFA is its decision to hold its 1996 General Meeting during the *Fête franco-albertaine*, an ACFA event (Dallaire, 1996-1997). Organizers assumed that the people they sought to recruit for the Administrative Council, and the people who would be interested in taking up such positions, would be at the *Fête*. Since FJA was organizing the sporting activities for the *Fête*, many FJA volunteers would be on site. Francophones from different regions were expected to be at the *Fête* thus it was viewed as an appropriate time and place to hold this meeting meant to include people from all over the province. The kind of francophones who 'fit' with the SJFA and FJA are obviously perceived to be the same francophones who affiliate with the ACFA.

In light of the association between SJFA and FJA, the connection between the SJFA and the ACFA is not surprising. FJA has always entertained close structural ties with the ACFA. Among other things, it has a seat at the ACFA *Bureaux des Présidents* and at one time it was also represented on the executive council of the provincial ACFA (ACFA/Ea, 1997). My fieldwork indicates that in many ways, FJA is seen as the junior version of the ACFA. And as I mentioned earlier, FJA is perceived as the training ground for future community leaders. It is assumed these future leaders will be involved with the ACFA or with organizations affiliated to the ACFA network. The SJFA, FJA and ACFA are thus part of the same cluster of francophone organizations that interact frequently. The exchange of information and resources between these bodies is amplified by their common location formerly at the *Centre 82* and more recently in the *Cité francophone*.[28]

4.2.2.3 Association multiculturelle francophone de l'Alberta The AMFA was founded in 1989 when an Edmonton regional ACFA committee on multiculturalism decided to form an independent organization to better represent French-speaking immigrants across the province (ACFA/Ea, 1997). The AMFA gathers francophones from Algeria, Belgium, Cambodia, Egypt, USA, France, French Guiana, Haiti, Mauritius, Laos, Libya, Morocco, Portugal, Rwanda, Somalia, Switzerland, Vietnam, Congo, Madagascar and Congo (ex-Zaire) (AMFA, no date; Lemieux, 1999a). Most of the members are immigrants of colour concerned with issues of racism, but some white French speakers, namely from Quebec or France, are also involved with the AMFA (AMFA/E, 1997). In 1991, the AMFA attracted about fifty francophones from fourteen different countries now established mostly in Edmonton and Calgary (Thibault, 1991). The association recruits members who believe in Canadian official bilingualism and in the value of mutual cultural exchange between different French-speaking ethnic groups (AMFA, no date). The main purpose of the AMFA is to help francophones from various ethnic groups live their respective culture and maintain their French language. Among other objectives, it wishes to raise awareness in the "Franco-Albertan" community concerning the cultural plurality of francophones in the province. It also seeks to

[28] The *Cité francophone* was established in the French-speaking neighborhood of Edmonton in 1996-1997. This institution houses many provincial and regional francophone organizations, such as FJA, the SJFA, the ACFA and the FPFA, the local francophone school board, a French language daycare, *Le Carrefour*, and *Le Franco*. The *Cité francophone*, situated across from *Faculté Saint-Jean*, is meant to be a hub of francophone life where many francophone social and political activities are held and where many of the francophone associations, organizations and some businesses can be found.

strengthen the relationships between ethnic groups in the Alberta "francophonie" while encouraging the preservation of different ethnic cultures.

As it celebrates its tenth anniversary, the AMFA still maintains some links with the ACFA. Among other things, both associations collaborated in developing a project to facilitate the integration of French-speaking new Canadians as well as raising awareness in the community about this francophone reality (Lemieux, 1999a). The ACFA has tried to support the AMFA by lending money, by helping organize press conferences, advertising AMFA activities and by lobbying to ensure the AMFA would get office space in the *Cité francophone* (ACFA/Ea, 1997). The AMFA has also participated in the *Tables de concertation* up to a partial involvement in the December 1996 gathering. But its objectives are very different from those of other francophone organizations. For instance, it was the only association who identified migration and immigration as a priority for community building (ACFA, 1996b). Yet, since no other organization shares such interests, the concerns of the AMFA are not considered an overall priority for the community. As a result of this and of a perceived lack of understanding and concern for its issues, there is not much interest on the part of the AMFA to continue its participation in the consultative process of the *Tables de concertation* (AMFA, 1997). While the AMFA is also located in the *Cité francophone* and it does interact with the ACFA, it is not part of the same cluster of francophone organizations with the SJFA, FJA, the ACFA and a few others. This marginal position of the AMFA in relation to this cluster is in part a result of the different French speakers it attracts and of their different interests.

4.2.2.4 Société acadienne de l'Alberta The *Société acadienne de l'Alberta* was created in 1986 in an effort to bring together the approximately one thousand Acadians living in Alberta (Gauthier, 1986,1986b). Among its objectives, the *Société acadienne* aims to represent the Acadian population of Alberta, inform the larger public on the history of Acadians and encourage the knowledge, use and appreciation of the French language among its members (Société acadienne de l'Alberta, no date). The statutes stipulate that any French speaker who has Acadian roots and is sufficiently fluent to communicate in French can join the *Société acadienne* (Société acadienne de l'Alberta, no date). The leaders I interviewed explained that anyone who is sympathetic to Acadian history is welcomed as a member. According to them, Acadian roots may be acquired by birth or by experience if one is pro-Acadian (Société acadienne/E, 1997).

At the outset, the association mostly took on a cultural vocation in creating opportunities for Acadians to get together and to attend performances by Acadian artists (Gauthier, 1986b). Its founders wanted to establish an official affiliation with the *Société Nationale des Acadiens*. There was also a wish to establish a formal relationship with the ACFA and to this end a meeting was planned with its president (Gauthier, 1986b), but no such structural link exists. Despite being invited to participate in the *Tables de concertation*, the Acadian leaders are not involved in this planning process. Since they do not receive any funding from Heritage Canada, and feel they are not considered part of the "official" community, the Acadian leaders are not interested in taking part in this consultative exercise (Société acadienne de l'Alberta/E, 1997). "On ne m'a jamais accepté comme Franco-Albertain. On m'accepte comme Acadien"[29] one of the Acadian leaders said of the "francophonie officielle". "J'ai pas besoin de me sentir Acadien, on

[29] "I have never been accepted as Franco-Albertan. I am accepted as Acadian"

me le rappelle."[30] (Association de la presse francophone, 1996, p. 1). This does not mean that there is no interaction between the ACFA and the *Société acadienne*. There may not be any official relationship, but the provincial ACFA has for instance provided financial assistance to the Acadian leaders when they purchased the *Centre Marie-Anne Gaboury*, and both associations invite one another to their social activities (Société acadienne de d'Alberta/E, 1997).

The Acadian association is part of a different cluster of organizations all housed in the *Centre Marie-Anne Gaboury*. The *Centre* houses the *Société acadienne*, the *Société éducative* and the *Société Mamowapik*. One individual was instrumental in the creation of these three organizations and, as a result, they are associated with him and with Acadians. In the same way that FJA and SJFA are conceived of as one and the same thing by many French speakers, the organizations in the *Centre Marie-Anne Gaboury* as well as the group managing the *Centre* are also considered as one big Acadian organization (Dallaire, 1996-1997). But the *Société éducative* employs and serves French speakers of various origins and thus demonstrates that the *Centre* attracts more than Acadians.

The French speakers at the *Centre Marie-Anne Gaboury* originally instituted the *Golf par excellence* fundraising tournament. This activity attracts mostly French-speaking business people and professionals as well as some English-speaking participants. One of the Acadian leaders explains that at some point, tournament organizers felt that some francophones resented and/or disapproved of this activity. It was perceived that the *Centre*--which is managed as a "for profit" organization and is not considered part of the "official" community since it is conceived of as an Acadian endeavor--should not have been raising funds "openly" and "officially" in the francophone community (Société acadienne/E, 1997). Some of the tournament organizers proposed to share the profits with other francophone associations to ensure the legitimacy of the event. Not all organizers agreed with the idea but it was finally decided that funds would be allocated to FJA. The youth association used these resources to fund the AFG. Through the years, different French speakers became involved in organizing the tournament and FJA also participated by providing volunteers. Eventually, the tournament was turned over to the SJFA. While the *Société acadienne* or other organizations in this cluster are no longer involved in the golf tournament, they still collaborate with the SJFA and FJA by sharing their charity number for fundraising activities. This allows the youth organizers to provide tax receipts to their donors. This is basically the extent of the relationship between SJFA and the *Société acadienne* or the *Centre Marie-Anne Gaboury*.

4.2.2.5 Alliance Française d'Edmonton Like the AMFA and the *Société acadienne*, the *Alliance Française d'Edmonton* is not part of the ACFA cluster of francophone organizations. It basically attracts and serves a different group of French speakers than those that participate in ACFA activities. The *Alliance Française* is a non-political non-profit association that was founded in Paris in 1883 to promote French language and culture across the globe (Schneider, 1998).[31] In 1998, there were 1,200

[30] "I do not need to feel Acadian, others remind me."

[31] While French speakers and francophone organizations in Alberta do sometimes used the phrase "French language and culture" in describing their activities and objectives, they refer to something quite different.

autonomous associations in 127 countries, 11 of which were in Canada (including one in Edmonton and one in Calgary).

The Edmonton chapter of the association was founded in 1947 by the French consulate representative and includes members from France but also various other countries (Alliance Française/E, 1997). The *Alliance Française* offers French language courses and monthly conferences for its members and the public. The association organizes, specifically for its members, weekly conversation, monthly dinners, spelling workshops and library services. Participants in the weekly conversation are French speakers from around the world including France, Egypt, Holland, the Ivory Coast, Canada, Russia, Romania, Congo (ex-Zaire) and other countries (Alliance Française/E, 1997).

The *Alliance Française* does not participate in the *Tables de concertation* but it did take part in the planning meetings for the *Cité francophone*, where it is now housed (Alliance Française/E, 1997). And, until the *Alliance Française* obtained its own office space when francophone associations moved in the *Cité francophone*, the Edmonton regional ACFA shared its own office space. Evidently, there is collaboration and interaction between both organizations but there is no structural connection, nor is the *Alliance Française* involved with the AFG or the SJFA.

4.2.2.6 Organizations affiliated with French language education Although the AFG are promoted to youths as a leisure opportunity, therefore a fun activity, they are also associated with school. A technical document for the third AFG specifies that youths must be registered in a francophone or a French immersion school to be eligible as AFG athletes (SJFA, 1995c). But such a requirement is not repeated in other SJFA documents. Yet, the routine SJFA recruitment practices reveal the importance of these schools in the process of staging the AFG. Organizers' strategy has predominantly been to recruit participants in francophone and French immersion schools. To do this, they recruit volunteers among teachers, *moniteurs de langue*, and parents involved in school activities. As a result, delegations are often administrated through schools. Throughout the Games, both participants and volunteers remain in a student-teacher relationship.[32] Because of this association with schools, the AFG are in many ways expressed by participants as a scholastic activity. Whether youths are in a francophone program or a French immersion program, they find themselves in a context similar to their school environment in which they are expected to address the teachers and staff in French.

Moreover, organizers promote the AFG to school authorities as an advantageous scholastic activity that helps achieve objectives of both French immersion and francophone programs. Whereas French immersion teachers and authorities are interested in the linguistic experience the AFG offer for students to 'practice' French, teachers and administrators of francophone programs and schools value the larger role the AFG are seen to fulfill. In fact, the Games not only take on an educational component, they also become an opportunity to develop the 'community' dimension of francophone

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The *Alliance française* promotes the culture and language as lived in France, while francophone organizations in Alberta promote the culture and French language produced in Canada, in a large part by French Canadians.

[32] This may also be a factor in the fact that participants view AFG organizers and volunteers as adults. They associate them with their teachers which are constructed as older and as adults in the student-teacher relationship.

schools. Francophone leaders in Alberta conceive of francophone schools as an ideological institution that serves to instill francophone values and beliefs thus socializing students as francophones and as members of the community. Indeed, these schools are not merely perceived as educational institutions, they are viewed as essential instruments in community building (ACFA/Ec, 1997; ACFA/Ed, 1997). This is why the ACFA (ACFA, 1996a) and the FPFA (FPFA/E, 1997), among other francophone groups, have long fought for the right to French language education in order to reverse the increasing rate of linguistic transfers among younger generations.

Francophones not only fought for francophone schools, which were first created in 1984, but also for the establishment of their own school boards which were eventually instituted in the early 1990s. But in December 1998, the provincial Minister of Education announced that he would rationalize the education system and merge the four existing francophone school boards into a single francophone entity.[33] The subsequent uproar in the francophone community following this announcement reveals the importance francophones attribute to schools and to school boards in community development. For example, a former Peace River francophone school board councilor explained in a letter to the editor in *Le Franco*: "Nos conseils scolaires sont (...) des partenaires indispensables dans le développement de nos communautés, de nos services et de nos ressources."[34] (Bergeron, 1999, p. 4). According to him, the disappearance of regional school boards in favor of one single entity to serve francophones across the province would create a political institution disconnected from the regions and the needs of the regions. He argued that it is not in such a context that "nous arriverons à rebâtir nos communautés ravagées par l'assimilation."[35] (Bergeron, 1999, p. 4).

Since schools are constructed as a tool for community building, they also become a site of discursive struggle over the 'truth' concerning francophoneness. The struggle to institute and maintain a public (i.e. non-confessional) francophone school in Edmonton following the establishment of the first francophone school as a Catholic institution illustrates how the battle for the definition of the community can be waged in the context of francophone schools. In 1984, the first francophone schools in Alberta were established in Calgary and in Edmonton as Catholic schools (Commissaire aux langues officielles, 1998). The addition of a religious dimension to these educational institutions created on the basis of linguistic criteria lead to a conflict among Edmonton French speakers concerning the definition of the community.[36] The proponents of a Catholic

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[33] In May 1999, the Minister of Education announced that there would be no fusion of the existing francophone school boards. However, the financial provisions of this decision provide a strong incentive for francophone school boards to move towards fusion.

[34] "Our school boards are (...) indispensable partners in the development of our communities, our services and our resources."; While this individual refers to communities in plural, meaning francophone towns or villages, his argument remains that francophone schools and school boards are important to francophone community development

[35] "we will succeed in rebuilding our communities decimated by assimilation"

[36] The problem of dealing with the different beliefs of Catholic French speakers and non-Catholic French speakers in francophone schools was not limited to Edmonton. In his study on the Franco-Calgarians, Stebbins (1994) commented that "the newly formed Calgary branch of the Association Multiculturelle Francophone de l'Alberta (AMFA) has as one of its principal goals just this recommendation [to integrate immigrants in the francophone community]. One of its challenges will be to find a way to mediate the clash of values that invariably emerges when non-Christian francophones immigrants want to enroll their children in the city's only French schools, which are Roman Catholic." (p. 120)

school were articulating a religious and cultural vision of francophoneness whereas the opponents were contesting this monolithic view of what constitutes the 'true' francophone or the 'legitimate' member of the community (Société pour une école publique à Edmonton/E, 1997).

The opponents founded the *Société pour une école publique à Edmonton* and obtained a francophone public school in 1997. The existence of this association and the eventual creation of the public school perturbs the constructed homogeneity of the francophone community. Indeed, an avid advocate of the francophone public school suggests

> On peut dire sans se tromper qu'elle [école publique francophone d'Edmonton] est la réalisation d'une exigence qui remonte à 1984, à la création de l'École Maurice-Lavallée qui avait choisi d'exclure - sinon dans les faits au moins dans le respect de ladite différence - les gens qui incarnaient la dimension proprement hétérogène de la francophonie albertaine.[37] (Dubé, 1998, p. 4)

The *Société pour une école publique à Edmonton* values and promotes the diversity of French speakers in Alberta. To this end, the aim of the public school is to provide an educational environment where, among other things, students will become citizens of the world and will promote unity in diversity (Société pour une école publique à Edmonton, no date). The school attracts French-speaking families who do not identify with the francophone community for reasons related to their non-French Canadian ethnic origins or to the fact that they live French 'differently' at home since it is not the dominant home language or it is not the first language of family members (Société pour une école publique à Edmonton/E, 1997).

Another trace of the discursive struggle to define the francophone in the school context involves the *Fédération des parents francophones de l'Alberta* (FPFA). This association for francophone parents officially exists since 1986 to promote French language education in Alberta (FPFA/E, 1997). It is currently concerned with the circumstances of mixed linguistic families and their impact on the preservation of French. In this perspective, the FPFA is actively involved in the *francisation* of families. Efforts are concentrated on providing services to francophone and English-speaking parents to include them in their children's education and to ensure the adequate linguistic preparation of young francophone students. The FPFA has no direct link with the SJFA, but it is an active participant in the *Tables de concertation* and it is also part of the ACFA cluster of francophone associations.

In 1997, the FPFA started a public debate, pursued in part in *Le Franco*, concerning the admission of non-*ayants droits* students in francophone schools. The parents' association declared in a press release that parents were uncomfortable with school board policies to admit, on a case by case principle, youths who were not specifically identified in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms as having a right to French language

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[37] We can say, that without a doubt, it [the francophone public school in Edmonton] is the achievement of a demand that dates back to 1984, to the creation of the *École Maurice-Lavallée* that chose to exclude--if not in facts at least in the respect of so-called difference--people that embody the truly heterogeneous dimension of the Alberta *francophonie*.

education (Moreau, 1997). The president of the FPFA wrote that parents should be consulted in the decision-making process concerning the eligibility of students not specifically identified under Section 23 (Mercier, 1997). The issue at stake in this debate was the inclusion of youths within francophone schools who were not 'real' francophones and the risk that the francophone environment of the institution would be compromised. However, the ACFA president responded that it is important to admit young "francophiles" committed to the *francophonie* as well as immigrants from other French-speaking countries to increase the number of students and ensure the existence of francophone schools (Moreau, 1997). He added that these students were admitted under strict criteria that ensured the francophone character and environment of these schools.

Obviously, francophone and French immersion schools, like the AFG, are sites of competing truths about who 'truly' belongs in the community. As a result of the competing definitions of the francophone, the SJFA experienced uneven relationships with the various schools and school boards. Francophone school boards and schools were generally supportive of the AFG. There was however some concern that the Games were perhaps becoming too anglicized to fully achieve program objectives of francophone schools (Dallaire, 1996-1997). Furthermore, francophone school boards were not willing to foot the bill for French immersion students. For example, funding for transportation--provided by francophone school boards--was to be also supplied by French immersion schools or found elsewhere since francophone school boards wanted their financial resources to fund their own students as opposed to funding all AFG participants.

The link between the AFG and both francophone and French immersion schools was problematic because of the different views about francophoneness. French immersion students were in most cases the most difficult to get access to. With teachers or *moniteurs de langue* as *chefs de mission*, access to schools and students was facilitated, at least in these organizers' own schools and school boards. Communication with students, whether in francophone or French immersion schools, was more difficult in schools where there were no AFG volunteers. Institutional support was important in recruiting participants and in managing delegations. French immersion school authorities were not always accommodating since they did not conceive of their school population as "francophone" (Dallaire, 1996-1997). Consequently, the *chefs de mission* or SJFA/FJA representatives were on occasion not allowed to make presentations in some schools.

Because of the problems with recruitment through schools, organizers proposed to deal directly with parents and youths through the regional ACFA offices by sending letters to members (Dallaire, 1996-1997). Organizers in *Centralta* had for instance sent 400 letters through the regional ACFA to recruit participants. Another proposal was to follow the model of the Saskatchewan francophone games and change the organizational structure of the AFG to integrate them in the cultural programming of schools. Schools would then be responsible for participant recruitment (Dallaire, 1996-1997). But would that have meant the AFG would become an activity for francophone schools only?

Organizers conceive of the AFG as a community event, as a strategy for community building. However, the collaboration of schools administrators is necessary for the success of the event because of the current SJFA practices of recruiting participants through schools and recruiting organizers and volunteers through schools also. The community dimension of the AFG lead to a problematic relationship with both

francophone schools and French immersion schools because of the diverging ideas about francophoneness and francophone community. In opening the Games to all French-speaking youths and by soliciting participants from both francophone and French immersion programs, AFG organizers are inevitably participating in and reproducing the debate on francophone identity and community.

4.3 The AFG: a community event?

Organizers identified themselves as francophones and were devoted to community building, namely by staging the AFG to attract and retain youths in francophone ranks. Through this endeavor, they hoped to recreate the emotionally strong experience the volunteers and participants of the Western delegation lived at the Acadian Games in 1991. According to organizers, the presence of the community at the AFG is a crucial component of the successful integration of French-speaking youths into its membership. The institutional community is involved in the Games through the financial and other assistance from francophone organizations such as the ACFA[38] and francophone school boards provide the SJFA. And, of course, francophone leaders of the ACFA and other organizations do make an appearance at the opening ceremonies to deliver speeches. Many francophone business people and professionals also indirectly contribute to the Games by making donations to, and participating in, the *Golf par excellence*. In addition, the francophone media attend the AFG at some point during the weekend.

However, to reproduce the Acadian experience, stands are meant to be filled with francophones cheering, greeting and celebrating the young participants. That is what marked the members of the Western delegation and reinforced their francophoneness and sense of belonging to a community. Unfortunately, until now, spectators have not been attracted in large numbers to the AFG. At least, not in sufficient numbers to create a strong community atmosphere.

> Il manque la communauté. Il manque le support de la communauté. Il manque le milieu dans lequel on baigne. Il manque cette fierté que les Acadiens ont. Que nous ici, peut-être qu'ils l'ont. Mais, il y a peut-être aussi d'autres faits... (...) [I]ls envoient leurs jeunes comme ils les envoient à l'école, comme ils les envoient à la garderie, comme... (...) Ils ne viennent pas les supporter. Ils ne viennent pas les applaudir. Ils ne viennent pas.[39] (FJA/Ea, 1997).

During my field observation of the 1996 AFG I was indeed struck by the absence of spectators at the sport competitions and cultural entertainment. SJFA leaders recognized that since the institution of the AFG, there was a definite lack of community participation during the event. In a grant submission to Heritage Canada, the SJFA proposed to

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[38] Again, assuming that the ACFA is the main structure representing the community.

[39] "The community is missing. The support of the community is missing. The milieu in which we evolve is missing. The pride Acadians have is missing. We maybe have it. But, there could also be other reasons... (...) [T]hey send their children like they send them to school, like they send them to daycare, like... (...) They do not come to support them. They do not come to applaud them. They do not come."

instigate a special project to study the needs of parents and other members of the community to determine what strategy should be adopted to attract them as spectators.

> Afin de développer un sentiment d'appartenance chez les parents et les membres de la communauté, il est primordial que la [SJFA] trouve les moyens créatifs d'attirer les parents, les personnes d'affaires, les enseignants, etc. à venir encourager la jeunesse lors des compétitions. Les jeunes se sentent énormément valorisés lorsque leur paires, leurs parents, etc. prennent le temps de venir les appuyer lors de leurs compétitions. Les mains d'applaudissement et les cris de joie les encouragent davantage à pratiquer, à travailler fort et à persévérer. Imaginez-vous leur déception lorsque les estrades sont vides? Ne méritent-ils pas l'énergie de leur communauté? Ne sont-ils pas assez bons?[40] (SJFA, 1996e, p. 7-8).

How can youth participants be integrated into the francophone community if the community is not there to welcome them?

The 1997 AFG were somewhat closer to the objective of creating a sense of community. The fifth edition of the Games was organized by a different group of people than the fourth edition. The Games were held outside of the Edmonton region for the first time and members of the 1997 Steering Committee were not all directly associated to FJA. The Steering Committee mostly relied on the resources and network of the regional Peace River ACFA. This meant that a variety of community members, of all ages, were involved as volunteers. At the April 1997 General Council meeting, the president of the Steering Committee asserted that the organizers were making efforts to ensure a wide participation at the opening ceremonies. She made the point that they had had enough of empty stands (Dallaire, 1996-1997). My sense of the 1997 Games is that they somewhat succeeded in attracting a larger audience compared to the previous edition of the AFG. In some ways, it was as if the francophones of Falher were proud to welcome the different delegations; as if the francophones in this region of the province wanted to provide the traveling participants, volunteers and organizers with a warm reception. It is not that organizers of the 1996 AFG did not want to welcome the delegations. But, while the emphasis of the 1997 AFG was on giving participants a memorable experience of their visit with francophones in the Peace River area, it seemed that the focus of the 1996 AFG was on the process, the quality of the sport experience and technical/logistical considerations.

The different meal environments illustrate the contrast between both Games. A catering company was hired to prepare the meals at the 1996 AFG and participants, volunteers and organizers served themselves in a buffet style process. At the 1997 Games, volunteers cooked and served the meals. It seemed as if the parents, siblings, neighbors, aunts, uncles and grandparents were in the Knights of Columbus Hall's

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[40] "In order to develop a sense of belonging among parents and members of the community, it is imperative that the [SJFA] find creative means to attract parents, business people, teachers, etc. to come encourage youths during the competitions. Youths greatly feel appreciated when their peers, their parents, etc. take the time to come support them during their competitions. The applause and the cheers encourage them to practice, to work hard and to persevere. Can you imagine their disappointment when the stands are empty? Don't they deserve their community's energy? Are they not good enough?"

kitchen preparing meals. It gave me the impression of being at a family meal where your aunt or grandmother wants to feed you a big meal because at your young age, you need a good hot meal to grow up healthy and strong. The simple act of having these people serve the meals and chat with participants, organizers and volunteers made an enormous difference in creating a welcoming atmosphere to the Games and to Falher.

The AFG signs in Falher were also bigger and more evident. There had been almost no indication but for a few posters announcing the 1996 Games in St. Albert whereas a huge banner provided by the City of Falher hung over the main street leading to the town center announcing "Bienvenue aux Jeux francophones de l'Alberta et bonne chance" (Dallaire, 1996-1997). A big commercial sign in front of the Knights of Columbus Hall where meals, opening and closing ceremonies and the Saturday night entertainment were held also contributed to acknowledge the staging of the AFG in Falher. The local French language community radio station broadcasted live on site at the Knights of Columbus Hall during the weekend, again marking the importance of the Games for the region's francophones. The sense of community involvement was also provided by the presence of a larger audience at the opening ceremonies, at the entertainer/magician's performance on the Saturday evening and for sport competitions. The larger number of spectators contributed to creating a more dynamic atmosphere. And, the Falher Games did attract 50% more volunteers than the 1996 Games which certainly made a difference in the perception that there were more 'adults' and community members on site than at the previous Games where participants outnumbered volunteers and spectators.

After the opening ceremonies of the 1997 AFG, I mentioned to one of the founders of the AFG who was also a member of the 1997 Steering Committee that I perceived a greater community atmosphere than the previous year. He agreed that for the first time, it felt as if the community was there for the AFG (Dallaire, 1996-1997). Yet, though we may have sensed moments of community presence at the 1997 AFG, it was still far from the powerful and intense feeling he and others had described experiencing at the Acadian Games. There were perhaps 75 spectators for the opening ceremonies and a little less for the evening entertainment on the Saturday evening. In the end, there were still more participants, volunteers and organizers than 'community' members at the AFG. The crowd was still missing.

But who are the francophones that were expected to show up to encourage, applaud and cheer the youth participants? Who exactly is in the francophone community? Who was absent? Organizers identify themselves as members of this community. Were they expecting other French speakers similar to them to fill up the stands? Questionnaire results show that French speakers comparable to organizers in terms of their relationship to French language, participation in francophone activities and francophone affiliation were involved as volunteers for the AFG. If organizers understood their own francophoneness as being representative of the 'typical' francophone, are there enough such French speakers to organize the AFG, volunteer during the weekend and fill up the stands with hundreds of spectators, let alone one or two thousands? Then again, as reported at the beginning of this chapter, organizers claimed at the 1996 Annual General Meeting that all French speakers were invited to the AFG. But do organizers' practices confirm this? To understand who were the perceived missing spectators, it is important to understand how organizers produced the francophone at the AFG.

CHAPTER FIVE - FRANCOPHONE DISCOURSES

At the end of the June 1996 Annual General Meeting, I discussed the proposal to give a new title to the AFG with the president of the SJFA. We talked about the idea that the *chefs de mission* had called for a name change were disturbed by the term "francophone" and its meaning. He commented: "Bien, j'imagine que la majorité du monde pense que francophone ça veut dire de langue..., de souche francophone."[1] The point being that "francophone" takes on more than one meaning, but one definition is more common. Then, he added: "Je ne le sais pas c'est quoi la vraie[2] définition de francophone."[3] (SJFA/Ek, 1996). Whatever this presumed 'true' definition of the francophone might be, it had not been discussed during the meeting. The president agreed that while organizers had proposed to develop a marketing strategy to promote the AFG as open to all French speakers, no one had defined "francophone". Despite the *chefs de mission* challenge of the term "francophone", no one at the AGM questioned the meaning of this term. The closest remark concerning the meaning of this label came from one of the AFG founders asserting that the Games are "francophone"; the term was meant to identify the event, not the participants (Dallaire, 1996-1997). Does that mean that some of the participants are not francophones? When I interviewed this founder/organizer he explained:

> Nous, quand on a fait le débat au début, on s'est dit: "On ne qualifiera pas sur le jeune qui va participer. On va qualifier les Jeux. Les Jeux, c'est des Jeux francophones de l'Alberta." On les a appellés pour ça. Ça a été réfléchi. S'il y a des jeunes francophiles qui venaient, c'est pas nous qui était pour juger.[4] (FJA/Ea, 1997).

At the AGM, organizers stated that the Games were open to all French speakers, but they did not explain the meaning of "francophone". Neither did the SJFA documents to which I had access provide a clear definition for this term either. Expressions referring to francophone identity such as "francophone" invariably surfaced, but their meaning was taken for granted. Whatever definitions organizers formulated about francophoneness were answers to my questions during meetings or interviews. However, the statements they enunciated in the process of staging the AFG as well as their routine discursive practices do provide clues as to how they conceive of the francophone.

This chapter focuses on the 'truths' about francophoneness articulated by organizers and francophone leaders. How do they conceive of the francophone? What meanings of francophoneness are produced? The first section of this chapter introduces the two discourses producing the 'francophone' at the AFG and in the community. The linguistic

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[1] "Well, I imagine the majority of the people think that francophone refers to... language, to having francophone roots."

[2] My emphasis; He assumed that there is a "true" definition of francophoneness.

[3] "I do not know what the true definition of francophone is."

[4] "When we debated, at the beginning, we thought: 'We will not qualify the youth that will participate. We will qualify the Games. The Games are the Alberta Francophone Games.' That is why we named them as such. It was thought through. If francophiles came, we were not going to make a judgement."

and the cultural discourses generate divergent 'truths' about francophoneness. Yet, they both assume that the francophone speaks French. Despite this shared assumption, the linguistic and cultural discourses are articulated in such a way that they produce competing ideas about the francophone. Francophoneness is perceived to be, on the one hand, based on a French speaker's relationship to the French language or, on the other hand, based on her relationship to 'francophone' culture (which includes but is not limited to the French language, but also includes, ideally at least, some relationships to French Canadian 'roots').

The second section of this chapter outlines the three dichotomies that cross both francophone discourses thus further complicating the production of francophone identity and community. These dichotomies create different francophone subject positions associated to the following poles: French as a first language vs. second/other language; routine and/or strategic identity; minority and/or national identity. This results, as I describe in the third section of the chapter, in a confusion of francophone identities. Indeed, the francophone produced at the AFG is discursively unstable. Organizers adopted strategies to include all French speakers while at the same time engaging in practices that limit and restrict the construction of francophoneness.

5.1 The AFG at the intersection of two francophone discourses[5]

In community building, the AFG organizers and francophone leaders included in this research were involved in a struggle between discourses that define francophoneness. But what exactly was this discursive struggle about? What competing 'truths' on francophoneness were AFG organizers articulating? How were these 'truths' similar to, and/or different from, those francophone leaders promote? The following analysis focuses on the identity discourses that officially framed the Games. As I try to disentangle the senses in which one may be produced as a 'francophone' in the context of the AFG, I also suggest that organizers were re-articulating competing 'truths' that already fueled a debate on francophoneness within the community. By this, I mean that organizers were not inventing or creating new discourses. They were, rather, enunciating fragments of discourses present in the community, perhaps by re-organizing them and making them more explicit. The francophone community is a contested social construction since French speakers and francophone organizations produce competing definitions of what it is. This study then tries to unveil these conflicting discourses by sketching how they were enunciated at the discursive site of the AFG. I am therefore outlining the configuration of discourse fragments produced by organizers at the Games.

While my study focuses on the 'truths' produced within the community, I recognize that French speakers and francophone organizations involved in the discursive struggle to define the Alberta francophone community are also reproducing discourses already in

[5] A modified version of the francophone discourses and their narrative segments (sections 5.1 and 5.2), Denis, C. and Dallaire, C. (1998, May), Don Cherry's "If you don't speak French, you're out.": Competing discourses at the Alberta Francophone Games, was presented at the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Sociology and Anthropology Association (CSAA/SCSA, Congress of the Social Sciences and Humanities), Ottawa, Ontario. A revised version of the latter, Dallaire, C. and Denis, C. (1999). "If you don't speak French, you're out": Don Cherry, the Alberta Francophone Games, and the Discursive Construction of Canada's Francophones, was submitted for publication in the Canadian Journal of Sociology.

circulation not only inside the community, but outside the community as well, including those promoted by the federal government and *Vision d'avenir*. As I reported in Chapter Four, the stipulations of the *Entente Canada-communauté Alberta* between Heritage Canada and the Alberta francophone community, represented by the ACFA, provide for the inclusion of all organizations that represent French speakers. Federal policies regarding francophone communities assume that these communities are formed on the basis of shared French language. Therefore, French speakers of various cultural origins should be represented in the consultative process to determine community-building priorities.

In contrast to this federal definition of francophone communities as linguistic collectivities, Bernard (1990b) articulated a different definition of the francophone. It is useful to recall that, in his research for *Vision d'avenir*, the criteria he used to measure the declining number of francophones focused on the performance of French among two types of French speakers: the population of French ethnicity and the population with French as a first language. The first criterion is explicitly based on an ethnic understanding of francophone identity. The second, mother tongue, is also understood in *Vision d'avenir* as constructed within a cultural understanding of the francophone. I will return to the notion of first language in the second section of this chapter.

What I wish to underline here is that these two versions of francophone identity, the linguistic definition promoted by the federal government and Bernard's (1990b) ethnicist definition, were reproduced in the discourses articulated in the Alberta francophone community and at the AFG. In fact, the analysis of the AFG reveals two sets of discursive elements producing competing 'truths' about the francophone. The first discourse defines membership in the francophone community based only on one's ability to speak French, no matter what other cultural markers the French speaker might carry. Conversely, the basic tenet of the second discourse is that a francophone is someone who partakes in a particular history and culture associated with the French language in Canada. This second discourse is closely associated to the ethnic definition of francophone communities.

These, however, were not the only identity discourses circulating at the Games. Heterosexual identities, for instance, were also at play. Young participants' questionnaire answers revealed that seven male teenagers indicated that they wanted to meet girls, make new girlfriends or "see girls jump" while four girls answered that they were participating in the AFG to meet boys. These questionnaire answers illustrate that these teenagers were also constructing their sexual identities at the AFG. However, other discourses at the AFG had a greater impact on the production of francophone identities. Indeed, sport discourses structured the AFG to an extent often detrimental to the development of an effective francophone identity, either linguistic or cultural. But that is the topic of Chapter Six.

5.1.1 Linguistic discourse

The first set of 'truths', the linguistic discourse, provides the recruitment language of the Alberta Francophone Games. In opening the Games to all French-speaking youths, organizers were repeating the 'truths' of a discourse producing a francophone

community that brings together French speakers regardless of their cultural background. Inclusion is based on proficiency in French such as demonstrated by the following statement defining the criteria for admissibility at the 1996 AFG "Tout jeune francophone ou francophile, pouvant comprendre et s'exprimer en français,[6] qui réside en Alberta, peut prendre part aux Jeux francophones de l'Alberta"[7] (SJFAQ, 1996a). According to this discourse, the Games provide a French linguistic experience.

Based on this linguistic criteria, the potential number of participants is fairly high. During the 1997-1998 school year there were a total of 29,521 French-speaking students enrolled in 17 francophone schools, 9 mixed schools and 155 schools offering French immersion programs (Alberta Education/E, 1999; Alberta Education, no date). These numbers represent the total French-speaking student population in elementary and secondary programs while the AFG are aimed at 12 to 18 years old students. Nevertheless, these figures show that the pool of potential participants is more than 50 times the number of participants the Games currently attract.

To assist the 1996 *chefs de mission* in their recruitment efforts, organizers provided them with a list of 103 schools throughout the province where participants could likely be found (SJFA, 1996a). This list included francophone, mixed and French immersion schools as well as the *Lycée Louis Pasteur*, a private international French language school in Calgary accredited by both Alberta and France (*Le Franco*, 1995). Thus, organizers of the 1996 AFG were at least aware of all the possible school channels to recruit a large number of French-speaking participants.

Table 3. Alberta French-speaking Population by Knowledge of Official Languages, Showing Age Groups, 1996 Census - 20% Sample Data

Knowledge of Languages	Total-Age Groups[8]	Under 15	15-24	25-44	45-64	65 and over
French only	1,615	645	95	250	290	335
French and English	178,505	34,250	44,815	57,320	31,450	10,675

Source: Statistics Canada (1997c)

The linguistic discourse also provides the official rhetoric for recruitment in other francophone organizations such as FJA, ACFA, the *Société pour une école publique*, the AMFA and the *Alliance Française*. In the case of FJA, for instance, the current mission statement draws on this discourse by specifying that it serves French-speaking youths, as opposed to its earlier orientation towards *ayants droits* or "French Canadians". While these associations pursue different mandates, their main criterion for inclusion is the ability to communicate in French. Moreover, representatives of all organizations included in this study enunciated linguistic 'truths' to describe the community. In fact, in

[6] My underlining.

[7] "Any young francophone or francophile, that can understand and communicate in French, that lives in Alberta, can participate in the Alberta Francophone Games."

[8] I have reprinted the data provided by Statistics Canada (1997c). Statistics Canada rounds each figure to 0 or 5. Therefore, the numbers given in this column are not necessarily the totals of the figures given in each age category

all but four interviews with organizers and francophone leaders, a definition of the francophone based on language was enunciated. Such statements were similar to the following assertion: "Tu fais partie de la communauté francophone parce que tu parles français."[9] (Société acadienne de l'Alberta/E, 1997).

In its simplest and broadest version, then, this discourse produces a community open to all Albertans who can perform in French. This means that in 1996, a total of 180,120 French speakers could have been considered 'francophones' since they reported some knowledge of French language (see Table 3). The linguistic discourse may not be the only discourse used to describe francophoneness within one organization, or by a same individual, but it was nonetheless pronounced by most respondents. It is also significant to note that the linguistic discourse circulates in all organizations included in this research.

5.1.2 Cultural discourse

The second set of 'truths' articulated at the AFG, the cultural discourse, assumes that a francophone is one who inherits or at least subscribes to a particular cultural heritage. Thus, part of the Games' mission is to provide young people with the opportunity to "apprendre plus au sujet de leur culture et de leur héritage"[10] (SJFA, 1995a, p. 5). It is important to underline that speakers of this discourse assumed that all francophones share the same culture, by birth or by adoption according to the version of the discourse enunciated. In this perspective, culture becomes the rallying point of francophones and the basis of community. The purpose of the Games, in the cultural perspective, is to provide young French speakers with a linguistic experience and a cultural experience as well (SJFA, 1995c). This is explicit in the statements AFG presidents wrote in official AFG programs:

> Soyons fiers de notre culture, de notre langue[11] et profitons de l'occasion pour les mettre en valeur.[12] Denis Desgagné, "Mot du président du Comité organisateur des JFA", (FJA, 1993a).

> Des sentiments de fierté et d'appartenance envers leur [renvoi aux participants] langue et leur culture canadienne-française [13]feront surface.[14] Zacharie Magnan, "Mot du président du Comité organisateur des JFA", (SJFA, 1995b).

While the linguistic discourse provides the recruitment language, the cultural discourse is used to describe the francophone identity and community that the AFG are meant to

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[9] "You are part of the community because you speak French."
[10] My emphasis; "learn more about their culture and heritage"
[11] My emphasis
[12] "Let us be proud of our culture, our language and let us take advantage of this opportunity to highlight them."
[13] My emphasis
[14] "Feelings of pride and of belonging towards their [participants'] language and French Canadian culture will surface."

produce. Organizers enunciated these cultural 'truths' in documents, namely in AFG programs and in SJFA statutes, and in interviews as well.

> La communauté c'est les gens (...) qui ont les mêmes idées sur c'est quoi une culture, une raison d'être. (...) Ce monde va à la messe et partage les mêmes buts, les mêmes croyances, tout ça. La communauté francophone d'Edmonton, c'est un monde beaucoup plus élargi et [des gens] qui croient dans préserver et promouvoir leur culture.[15] (SJFA/En, 1997).

> Pour moi, un Franco-Albertain c'est quelqu'un qui veut s'afficher comme Franco-Albertain, qui parle le français, qui est fier de sa culture et de sa langue.[16] (SJFA/Ec, 1997).

Organizers talked about identity and community in a way that constructs culture as the essence of francophoneness. According to this perspective, francophone identity is manifested and lived only if one accepts and values this presumed inherent culture.

In articulating a cultural discourse in the context of the Games, organizers were reproducing the cultural 'truths' circulating within the community. Indeed, cultural/ethnicist definitions of the francophone are produced in the various organizations included in this study. A few of the ACFA and FJA leaders emphasized cultural criteria to outline their own ideas about francophoneness. Conversely, some other ACFA and FJA representatives and the leaders of the AMFA, the *Société acadienne*, the *Alliance Française* and the *Société pour une école publique* explained that other French speakers culturally defined the francophone community, but that they themselves did not endorse such a point of view. The cultural discourse was, if not defended as one's own opinion, clearly acknowledged as a circulating definition of francophoneness.

The most widely circulated version of the cultural discourse, at the AFG and in the community, connotes the traditions and historical experiences of the descendants of *Nouvelle-France's* French settlers and is associated with the ethnicist meaning generally given to the phrase "French Canadian".[17] This is certainly illustrated in the early mandates and objectives of the ACFA, FJA and the AFG. Interviewees speaking this discourse often described this culture by referring to "[l]a cabane à sucre, l'épluchette de blé d'inde, le réveillon, la tourtière, la musique, ..." [...] "Les rigodons, la danse carrée."[18] (SJFA/Ea, 1996). In this sense, the presumed shared culture among francophones seems to be strongly associated with a traditional or folklorized sense of the past. The notion

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[15] "The community is people (...) who share the same ideas on what is culture, a reason for being. (...) Those people go to church and share the same objectives, the same beliefs, all of that. The Edmonton francophone community is a much larger world and [people] who believe in preserving and promoting their culture."

[16] "I think a Franco-Albertan is someone who wants to be seen as a Franco-Albertan, who speaks French, who is proud of his culture and his language."

[17] Although the label "French Canadian" sometimes takes other meanings, I take it to be predominantly ethnicist; my use of the term in what follows refers to the dominant sense.

[18] "[t]he sugar shack, corn-husking party, Christmas Eve party, meat pies, music, ... [...] folk dancing, square dancing."

of a common history is in fact associated to this version of the cultural discourse in the sense that francophones are defined by their ethnic lineage.

> Qu'est-ce qui fait qu'on est francophone? C'est où nos racines sont. Moi, mes racines je sais où elles sont. Elles sont à Bonnyville, elles sont à Fort Kent. Elles sont dans une famille que ça fait des générations qu'elle parle en français. C'est des familles qui sont venues de la France il y a 300 ans. Et ça fait 300 ans qu'elles sont ici au Canada. C'est ça qui fait que je suis francophone. C'est ma tradition.[19] (FJA/Ee, 1997).

These 'truths' about francophoneness correspond to Juteau-Lee's (1979, 1983a, 1983b) argument that francophone communities are the product of history and culture. However, AFG organizers and francophone leaders did at times broaden the definition of the cultural experience at the root of francophone communities to include a contemporary definition of French Canadian culture:

> C'est difficile d'exprimer ce qu'est la culture canadienne-française parce que par définition c'est une culture multiple. Quand on parle de sirop d'érable, et de ces affaires, il faut quand-même se rendre compte que ce sont des inventions qui ont été crées, découvertes par les Autochtones et que nous autres on a réaménagées à la sauce de chez-nous pour en faire quelque chose de canadien-français. Mais c'est avant tout des traditions qui datent des premiers habitants du pays. Et aujourd'hui, la culture canadienne-française ça se définit autant par Jean Leloup que par Edith Butler, que par la Girandole. C'est pas mal éclaté comme définition de la culture parce que si on pense aux jeunes qui vont faire de l'art visuel dans les écoles, je ne pense pas que l'on puisse automatiquement toujours différencier ce qui est francophone de l'Alberta ou canadien-français à travers ce qu'ils font. C'est un peu plus éclaté que ça.[20] (ACFA/Ea, 1997).

Other activities to which organizers and francophone leaders pointed as elements of French Canadian culture in Alberta are hockey, the *Fête franco-albertaine*, French-language music, and theater (SJFA/Ea, 1996; SJFA/Ed, 1997; SJFA/Ee, 1996). The idea of culture as a way of life has also been repeated in interviews. In a few other cases, the

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[19] "What makes us francophones? It is where our roots are. I know where my roots are. They are in Bonnyville, they are in Fort Kent. They are in a family that has been speaking French for generations. They are families that came from France 300 years ago. And they have been in Canada for 300 years. That is what makes me a francophone. It is my tradition."

[20] "It is hard to define what is the French Canadian culture since by definition it is a diverse culture. When we talk about maple syrup, and those things, we have to keep in mind that these inventions were created, discovered by the Natives and we have reshaped them are recreated them as French Canadian. But they are first and foremost traditions of the country's first inhabitants. Today, French Canadian culture is defined as much by Jean Leloup than by Edith Butler than by the *Girandole*. It is a very eclectic definition of culture because when we think of what youth are doing as visual arts in the school, I don't think we could automatically differentiate between what is francophone of Alberta or French Canadian through what they are producing. It is more complicated than that."

community's culture was understood as 'cultivation' and aesthetic practices. Artistic creation through music, drama, writing, painting, visual arts and other practices becomes, in this perspective, an important dimension of the community.

> Je parle toujours de "arts et culture". C'est des choses que je tiens à mettre ensemble. Moi, je dis toujours que si on n'avait pas ce domaine, je ne suis pas certaine qu'on aurait vraiment raison d'exister. Dans le sens que parler une langue, mais une langue vide... Ça ne se peut pas. C'est ce qui fait avancer un peuple, tout cette question d'arts et culture. S'il n'y a pas de création, d'innovation, s'il n'y a pas non plus la préservation du folklore aussi qui fait partie de notre histoire, où est-ce qu'on va aller? Pourquoi on parlerait français? Pour avoir des mots, ce serait tout. Je ne peux pas envisager la francophonie sans les arts et la culture. (...) C'est la base de toute communauté.[21] (ACFA/Eb, 1997).

While most of the respondents who conceived of francophoneness as a cultural product referred to French Canadian culture, at least seven francophone leaders of the ACFA, AMFA, *Société pour une école publique*, and the FPFA understood francophone culture as varied and inclusive of other ethnic practices. For instance:

> Moi, je dis qu'il y a diverses cultures [dans la communauté]. (...) Je ne dirais pas que présentement la communauté lui donne tout la même place. On a peut-être plus tendance avec la ceinture fléchée et a l'associer au folklore, ces choses. Mais je pense qu'il y a un éveil présentement. La culture francophone c'est la diversité. Parce que si le Canada est composé de différents groupes ethniques que ce soit la France, que ce soit de l'Europe, etc. Eux autres, le sirop d'érable... Le sirop d'érable en France, je m'excuse, mais il n'y en a pas beaucoup. Alors ça ne leur dit pas grand chose. C'est pour ça que dans nos écoles il est important que ce ne soit pas juste le sirop d'érable mais que ce soit axé vers une diversité multiculturelle.[22] (FPFA/E, 1997).

When invited to explain or describe the culture that according to them marks and produces francophones, many interviewees were at a loss to put into words their

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[21] "I always talk about 'arts and culture'. I insist on linking these things together. I always say that if we did not have that field, I am not sure we would have a reason to exist. In the sense that speaking a language, but an empty language... It is impossible. The whole issue of arts and culture is what brings a people forward. If there was no creation, no innovation, and if there was not the preservation of folklore which is also part of our history, where will we go? Why would we speak French? To have words, that would be all. I can not envision the *francophonie* without arts and culture. (...) It is at the base of any community."

[22] "I say that there are different cultures [in the community]. (...) I would not say that the community currently gives them all an equal place. We perhaps tend to consider the *ceinture fléchée* and to associate [culture] with folklore, things like that. But I think that there presently is an awakening. Francophone culture is diversity. Because if Canada is composed of different ethnic groups whether they be from France, from Europe, etc. Maple syrup for them... Maple syrup in France, I am sorry, but there isn't much. So, it does not mean much to them. That is why in our schools, it is important that it not only be about maple sugar, but that it be turned towards a multicultural diversity."

perception of the community's culture. They simply could not define it. They would provide examples of what constitutes culture, but they were not able to give a precise description. Although most references to culture pointed to French Canadian ethnicity, there was no consensus on what French Canadian culture is. Is it limited to traditions and folklore or does it also include contemporary practices?

AFG organizers referred to the French Canadian culture of participants and declared the importance of celebrating it. But when I asked them to describe the French Canadian aspects of the culture promoted at the Games, organizers were mystified.

> Je n'ai jamais vraiment pensé à cette question-là, mais je pense que c'est [la culture aux JFA] francophone. C'est moins canadien-français. C'est francophone. Les activités telles que les cabanes à sucre, j'utilise cabane à sucre, la gigue, la Fête franco-albertaine touche un peu, ça c'est plus canadien-français. C'est plus tradition, culture. Les Jeux, c'est francophone. C'est pour promouvoir et préserver une langue. Et avec ça, c'est de souhaiter que la culture va suivre. C'est une question difficile à répondre.[23] (SJFA/En, 1997).

Most of them defined culture in terms of ethnic traditions, but none of these cultural markers are produced at the AFG. For that reason, organizers introduced nuances and stated that the Games are more "francophone" than "French Canadian". It became clear that their notion of French Canadian culture was so entrenched in ideas of folklore that they could not think of it in terms of contemporary practices.

> Puis aux Jeux, je ne pense pas que cela soit nécessairement reflété ces aspects de la culture que moi je compte comme des aspects culturels. Je ne pense pas que ça soit nécessairement reflété dedans. (...) Je pense qu'on va plus vers des activités dont la langue est française puis on caractérise ça comme étant des activités culturelles qui promouvoient la langue française. Mais on ne dit pas nécessairement que... Moi je ne suis pas capable nécessairement de dire que c'est canadien-français au niveau des activités, parce que pour moi, si c'était un groupe de folklore, bon là je pourrais dire c'est peut-être... Ça se rapproche un petit peu plus de ce que j'ai comme culture canadienne-française. Dans le sens où c'est des rigodons, c'est la cuillière de bois et tout ça. Moi je trouve que ça se rapproche plus de ce que j'ai comme aspects culturels, ce que j'ai vécu au Québec. Donc, ça je pense que je serais plus capable de l'appuyer. Mais des jeunes [Frankies Norm, Hardis Moussaillons] qui font de la musique "pop" puis tout ça, je pense qu'ils promouvoient

[23] "I never really thought about that question, but I think that it [culture at the AFG] is francophone. It is less French Canadian. It is francophone. The activities like the *cabanes à sucre*, I use the *cabane à sucre*, the gigue, the *Fête franco-albertaine* is related, those are more French Canadian. It is more tradition, culture. The Games are francophone. They exist to promote and maintain a language. And with that, we hope that culture will follow. It is a difficult question to answer."

> plus la langue que la culture canadienne-française. C'est pas facile.[24] (SJFA/Eh, 1997).

If organizers insisted on the role of French Canadian culture for francophone identity, and they conceive of this culture in terms of folklore, why did they not include French Canadian traditions at the AFG?

> Il faut que ça soit vendable aux jeunes. Je veux dire, on ne peut pas venir jouer du violon aux Jeux parce que c'est de la culture canadienne-française. Il faut que ça soit... C'est graduable cette histoire d'introduire la culture aux jeunes et ça ne peut pas se faire du jour au lendemain, alors... Si il faut tout balancer ces choses, et il y a aussi la question de... Bien ça serait important de promouvoir les artistes de l'Ouest par exemple. Parce que les artistes de l'Ouest si tu veux promouvoir la culture aussi, si les artistes n'ont pas de place, n'ont pas d'estrade pour jouer leur musique bien, tu ne fais pas de faveur à ...[25] (SJFA/Ee, 1996).

According to organizers, it could be desirable but impossible to showcase traditional music or to offer typical French Canadian meals at the AFG. Without saying it in so many words, organizers assumed that they had to offer contemporary, "cool" social activities and music if they wanted to attract participants, and "cool" just happened to be English-language popular culture. *La Bottine souriante*, a well-known French Canadian folklore group that performed at the *Fête franco-albertaine*, was not what teenagers think of as great or "cool" music. It was difficult enough for organizers to come up with suggestions of French language bands that would appeal to French-speaking youths in Alberta, they would have never even considered promoting folklore at the AFG.

At the 1996 AFG, they invited Frankies Norm, a young alternative band formed by *École Maurice-Lavallée* students, as an opening act to the main performance given by the *Hardis Moussaillons*, an Ontario based francophone alternative/rock band. At the 1997 AFG, organizers decided to change the formula for the main cultural performance. Instead of trying to introduce French language music to participants and running the risk

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[24] "I do not think that these aspects of culture, that I conceive of as cultural aspects, are necessarily reflected at the Games. I do not think that they are necessarily reflected there. (...) I think that we tend towards French language activities and we characterize them as cultural activities that promote French language. But we do not necessarily say that... I am unable to say that these activities are French Canadian, because if it was a folk group, then I would say that it is maybe ... That is closer to my own French Canadian culture. In the sense of *rigodons*, wooden spoons and all that. That is closer to what I have as cultural aspects, what I experienced in Quebec. So, I think that I would be better able to support that. But youths [Frankies Norm, Hardis Moussaillons] doing 'pop' music and all that, I think they are promoting language more than French Canadian culture. It is not easy."

[25] "We have to be able to sell it to youth. I mean, we can not play the fiddle at the AFG just because it is French Canadian culture. It has to be... This idea of introducing culture to youths is gradual and it can not be done quickly. If we have to balance all these things, and there is also the question of... It would be important to promote Western artists for instance. Because Western artists, if you want to promote culture, if artists are not included, if they are not given the stage to play their music, well, you are not doing anyone any favors..."

that the youths would not fully appreciate the concert,[26] they hired a magician/entertainer who performed in French and was very successful in drawing the participants into his show. Organizers also included the various workshops offered to participants between their competitions in what they described as the cultural program of the Games. Such workshops at the 1996 and 1997 Games were organized for the most part by local francophones and covered a variety of topics, namely drawing, painting, improvisation, traditional percussion, video, magic, wood basket making, wheat weaving, journalism, acupuncture, radio, genealogy, drama, Tae Kwon Do, reiki, and bird houses. The AFG's cultural program evidently does not particularly promote French Canadian traditions.[27]

In adopting a cultural perspective about the community, organizers faced a challenge in staging Games: they had to ask what exactly was the culture of the community? And more importantly, how should it be enacted at the Games?[28] To resolve this question, an Administrative Council member proposed to strike a provincial committee that would, among other things, identify the specific culture to be promoted at the Games and identify the activities deemed "cultural" (SJFA, 1996h). This committee would thus be in charge of writing a cultural policy for the AFG that would clarify the idea of culture and guide organizers working on the content of the cultural program. But the committee was in fact not created and no cultural policy was formulated--a telling sign perhaps of the precarious position of 'cultural issues' in the overall staging of the Games as we will see in Chapter Six.

The result of the conflicting statements about the culture of the community is a muddled picture of practices, events and activities carried out in French. In fact, the one constant characteristic of all references to culture is the priority given to the practice of the French language. One effect of this 'truth' is the exclusion of people of French Canadian origins who may share in various ways the culture and history most referred to, but who no longer speak the language. According to the 1996 Canadian census, more than 300,000 individuals in Alberta declared having French ethnic origins (See Table 4) (Statistics Canada, 1998b).[29] Of this number, 47,435 declared that they had

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[26] At the 1996 AFG, the participants did not all seem to enjoy the *Hardis Moussaillons* concert. In fact, organizers and volunteers appeared to have more fun than most of the youths. Perhaps organizers and volunteers knew this band already. I would argue that, at the minimum, organizers and volunteers were more open to French language music whereas my interviews with participants revealed that teenagers do not listen to music in French nor are they familiar with it.

[27] However, the inclusion of workshops on genealogy and reiki in the cultural program perhaps reflects contemporary cultural practices of the Alberta francophone community. During my fieldwork, I have observed that both these activities are quite popular practices among francophones. I would suggest that genealogy and reiki have become common cultural practices of francophones in Alberta today. But organizers do not associate these activities with the culture that defines francophoneness. They instead insist that folklore characterizes this culture.

[28] This research was the catalyst for raising these particular questions. After participating in group interviews and being confronted with the issue of defining the culture they wanted to promote at the Games, organizers perceived a lack of clarity in their notion of culture. It was to resolve this perceived confusion about the issue, and to guide them in the organization of the Games that they suggested setting up a committee on "culture" (Dallaire, 1996-1997).

[29] In the 1996 census, ethnic origins refer to the ethnic or cultural group(s) one's ancestors belonged to (Statistics Canada, 1998c). It points to the ancestral roots or origins of the population and should not be confused with birth-place, citizenship or nationality. The 1996 census questionnaire did not list ethnic categories. Respondents had four spaces to write their ethnic origins. A list of 24 examples was provided

French as their only ethnic heritage, while over 250,000 Albertans stated that they were from mixed ancestry, one of which was French or French Canadian. There are fewer than 180,000 French speakers in Alberta. Therefore, not all individuals claiming French or French Canadian ancestry can speak French.

Table 4. French and French Canadian Ethnic Origins of the Alberta population, Single and Multiple Responses, 1996 Census, 20% Sample Data

Population of Alberta		2,669,195
Single Responses:		
- French	47,435	
Multiple Responses:		
- French and British Isles	62,360	
- French origins only (includes Acadian)	150	
- French and Canadian	14,460	
- French and other	58,885	
- French Canadian and other	14,605	
- British Isles, French and Canadian	18,940	
- British Isles, French and other	75,830	
- British Isles, French Canadian and other	14,515	
Subtotal of the Alberta population with French and French Canadian ethnic origins	259,745	

Source: Statistics Canada (1998a)

Organizers insisted that to be able to claim the culture, one has to be able to convey it; and that can only be done in French (SJFA/Ea, 1996). In other words, one has to be able to speak the language to assert sharing in the culture, as if this culture without French language is null or void. This is in contrast to numerous other cultural or ethnic identities in Canada (e.g. Ukrainian, German or Italian) where one may claim the identity on the grounds of genealogy without being fluent in the language. Despite being a basic criterion of the discourse, culture does not prevail over the fundamental criterion about the francophone in Canada, performance of the French language. Hence, a francophone produced through history and culture is one who not only speaks French but also 'lives' and respects the (however undetermined) culture of the community.

The cultural discourse discriminates between French speakers by emphasizing the cultural principle and effectively creates a more exclusive group. Those of non-French Canadian culture are effectively absent from the construction of the cultural community. Their culture is just too different (SJFA/Ef, 1996).[30] They may practice French, as a first

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and for the first time, the "Canadian" origin was offered as an example since it was the fifth most common answer in the 1991 census. Almost all those who stated being of Canadian origins in 1996 were born in Canada and had French or English as a first language (Statistics Canada, 1998c). A comparison between the 1991 and 1996 reveals that those who declared having Canadian origins had previously stated that their ethnic ancestry was French or British. This could mean that many of these respondents belonged to families who have been established in Canada for many generations. Among the respondents who belong to families established in Canada since many generations, mixed marriages between individuals of different ethnic backgrounds have produced an increasing number of individuals who have multiple ethnic origins.

[30] I would suggest that race also plays a role in the differentiation between French-speaking cultural/ethnic groups. While the issue of race is not discussed by francophone leaders involved in the ACFA cluster of

language or not, but they have not shared the historical and cultural experience of the French minority in Canada. Such people, for instance, may be Canadians of second or more generations and/or recent immigrants from France, Belgium, Haiti, Congo, Libya or other countries. Basically, they are the French speakers whom the AMFA, the *Alliance Française* and the *Société pour une école publique* attract.

The cultural imperative of francophoneness could in part explain why no participants are recruited at the *Lycée Louis-Pasteur* in Calgary. It is assumed that the French Canadian students will be in francophone schools, not in this private school affiliated to the French (from France) school system. Moreover, the *Lycée Louis-Pasteur* is at the periphery of the francophone institutional network. Therefore there are no structural links between the SJFA and this private institution. Most *chefs de mission* are connected to francophone schools or French immersion schools, and do not have much interaction with the staff or students at the *Lycée*. I would argue that part of the reason for the *Lycée's* marginal position at the fringe of the francophone community is precisely because this school is in no way affiliated to French Canadian history in the province.

The French Canadian criterion is strongly articulated. As a result, organizers put more effort into recruiting participants among "assimilated" French Canadians or youths in mixed linguistic families, both of which are possibly found in French immersion schools, than in recruiting youths fluent in French but from different cultural origins.[31] Even if speakers of the cultural discourse believed that "assimilated" French Canadians or their children can not claim francophone identity, they still considered them worthy of 'recuperation' in the community. According to this perspective, individuals who have some French Canadian parentage, can potentially become 'true' francophones, whereas French speakers of different cultures can not. *Vision d'avenir* did not either discuss the possibility that francophones may be of different ethnicity. Bernard (1991) mostly emphasized the "threat" of mixed linguistic families[32] for the preservation of francophone communities, declaring that these mixed unions are one of the major factors of Anglicization. The cultural discourse may slightly open the door to "assimilated" French Canadians learning to speak French, but it certainly excludes anglophones who speak French as a second language and want to participate for various reasons such as joining their francophone spouse's or partner's community, or to practice and improve their French. Yet, their exclusion makes the community significantly smaller.

While both FJA and the ACFA are now officially promoting linguistic 'truths' about the francophone, when asked to define the community, some of their leaders still articulated a cultural understanding of francophoneness (ACFA/Eb, ACFA/Ec, ACFA/Ed, 1997; FJA/Ec, FJA/Ed, 1997). In addition, some of the documents and practices of these associations also continue to produce cultural 'truths' about the community. For instance, the stated values of FJA include a belief in the "richness of

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organizations, or by AFG organizers, it did come up in the interview with AMFA representatives. Skin color becomes a barrier and a clear marker of difference and sets some cultural/ethnic/racial groups further apart from the French Canadian community than white French-speaking cultural groups.

[31] Whether this follows a trend in the ACFA institutional cluster to concentrate on the importance of "refranciser" mixed linguistic families and of integrating non-francophone spouses in the community rather than seeking to attract and include French-speakers of diverse ethnic origins needs to be empirically verified. The data I have collected suggest such a pattern, but are insufficient to allow me to draw conclusions.

[32] The assumption here is that French Canadian men or women marry English-speaking Canadians.

French Canadian culture" (1996c) while the *Cabane à sucre* remains the biggest annual socio-cultural event organized by the regional divisions of the ACFA in Edmonton (Lemieux, 1999b) and in other regions as well.

Evidently, traces of the French Canadian foundations of these associations still have currency. At issue here is not only the fact that FJA, the SJFA and the ACFA promote 'truths' about the presumed shared history and culture of francophones, whether they associate it to French Canadian origins or not. It is rather that these associations and those that form the ACFA cluster, for all intents and purposes, actively promote and defend one 'ethnic' culture and that is French Canadian culture. Indeed some ACFA leaders do believe that all francophones in Alberta have French Canadian origins. This assumption was made clear, for instance, by the intervention of an ACFA delegate during the *Tables de concertation.* He expressed obvious consternation when he realized the existence of a multicultural francophone association in Alberta (Dallaire, 1996-1997). Other delegates explained that indeed some French speakers in Alberta were neither French Canadian nor Acadian.[33] For the most part though, francophone leaders in the ACFA cluster recognized the cultural diversity of French speakers. But, the argument used by both organizers and francophone leaders to justify the dominant position of French Canadian culture in the community insisted that French Canadians form the majority of French speakers (ACFA/Ec, 1997; SJFA/Ea, 1996). "On n'a pas le problème des grosses communautés multiculturelles que l'Ontario a." (ACFA/Ed, 1997). Therefore, it is only 'natural' that this culture be pervasive in the community.

While the ACFA and FJA recognize that francophones have different cultural origins and while they officially aspire to represent all French-speaking Albertans, they do not propose activities that promote other 'ethnic' cultures. The ACFA organizes the *Cabane à sucre*, the *Fête franco-albertaine* and the *Saint-Jean Baptiste* whereas non-French Canadian cultural events are organized by the AMFA, by the *Alliance Française* and by the *Société acadienne de l'Alberta.* The latter organizations, in addition to the *Société pour une école publique,* note the role of the cultural discourse in producing the francophone community, and in many ways, they promote a linguistic idea of the francophone in reaction to these cultural 'truths'. Indeed, most of the leaders of these associations lament the construction of the community as a French Canadian collectivity. The existence of the AMFA, the *Société acadienne* and the *Société pour une école publique* is to purposefully contest the ethnicist discourse and to prove the cultural diversity of French speakers and the community. In this sense, the cultural discourse is articulated not only by those who agree with it, but also by those who purposefully challenge it.

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[33] It is interesting to note here that Acadians are often thought of as the same as, or close enough to, French Canadians by some speakers of the cultural discourse. In this perspective, Acadians are included in the cultural definition of the francophone community. Francophone leaders actually deplore that Acadians insist on their difference, whether in Alberta or within the national francophone association, the *Fédération des communautés francophones et acadiennes* (ACFA/Ec, 1997).

5.1.3 Conventional wisdom: The francophone speaks French

In the Fall of 1997, in the newspaper version of "Coach's Corner"[34], Don Cherry complained about the "millions" of Canadian taxpayer dollars spent on such things as the AFG (Cherry, 1997). He argued that it is unfair to allocate government funding to an event restricted to French speakers. Cherry's estimate of the amount of government money spent on the Games was exaggerated: the federal government provides about $10,000 to the event through a Heritage Department grant while the Alberta government provides no funding whatsoever (Francoeur, 1997). Cherry, however, was right despite himself about one thing. His words were "If you don't speak French, you're out" (Cherry, 1997, p. D3). Indeed, the key selection criterion participants must fulfill is the ability to communicate in French. Whether organizers articulated linguistic or cultural 'truths', the basic idea of francophoneness was the same: the francophone must speak French.

Thus, at the AFG the performance of French is regulated, at least on paper, and is emphasized over any other practice that may define the francophone. Indeed, the first rule that participants must observe at the AFG is:

> 1. USAGE DU FRANÇAIS
> Le français doit obligatoirement être utilisé lors de la fin de semaine de Jeux. Si l'athlète ne fait pas un effort évident pour parler en français (...), les organisateurs retourneront l'athlète à la maison aux frais de ses gardiens.[35] (SJFA, 1996a, p. 2-2).

This is the only rule concerning participants' behavior that is reproduced on the parental consent form. Furthermore, it is written in capital letters just above the space where parents must sign.

> IF MY CHILD DOES NOT MAKE A SIGNIFICANT EFFORT TO SPEAK FRENCH OR DISOBEYS ANY OTHER RULE, THE ORGANIZERS OF THE GAMES WILL RETURN MY CHILD HOME AT MY EXPENSE. (SJFA, 1996a).

The guidebook for the *chefs de mission* also outlines a policy concerning the establishment of a French language environment (SJFA, 1996a). This policy enumerates different principles: participants must be selected among the youths most apt to speak French; recruitment of volunteers should focus on those who will create a French-speaking milieu; the development of a volunteer credo that declares the importance of speaking in French; and, the creation of a team of volunteers who will 'cultivate' the use of French among all participants and volunteers.

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[34] "Coach's Corner" is a syndicated hockey column in Southam newspapers. Cherry's comment on the AFG was published on October 13, 1997.

[35] USE OF FRENCH. Throughout the weekend Games, the use of French is compulsory. If the athlete does not make an obvious effort to speak in French (...), organizers will send him/her home at his guardians' expense.

The importance attributed to the performance of French is also obvious throughout the minutes, reports and correspondence of AFG organizing committees. For instance, the evaluation report produced by organizers of the second AFG includes various criticisms concerning the lack of practice of French:

> L'utilisation du français
> -Attention aux spectateurs qui ne parlent par (sic) français
> -Le système semble bien; mais il faut que les agents de refrancisation soient plus négatifs dans leurs tâches.
> -Plus forcé pour que tout le monde parle français.
>
> Agents de refrancisation
> -N'a pas vu ou connu un de c'est (sic) agent (sic) lors de la fin de semaine.
> -Mieux connaître, clarifier les rôles des agents
> -Il y en avait?
> -Avoir des agents de motivations (sic) pour l'ensemble des Jeux
> -Renforcer et encourager l'utilisation du français.[36] (FJA, 1993g).

Another example is the memo that was sent to *chefs de mission* to remind them that all volunteers must be fluent in French. Therefore, parents who can not speak French are not allowed as volunteers for the delegations (SJFA, 1995d). As a result of this requirement, the Lethbridge regional office of the ACFA was forced to cancel the participation of its fifteen recruited youths since it was unable to find French-speaking parents to accompany the delegation (ACFA de Lethbridge, 1992). During a meeting, a *chef de mission* suggested that competition announcements could be done in both French and English to help anglophone parents learn French. His proposal received the following reaction:

> On mentionne au contraire que qu'est-ce qu'il faudrait faire plutôt est d'éduquer les parents que ce sont des Jeux francophones et par le fait-même on leur demande de respecter l'environnement français qui entoure l'événement. Il y a beaucoup de travail à faire pour sécuriser les parents.[37] (SJFA, 1995e, p. 15).

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[36] "Use of French
-Watch out for spectators that do not speak French.
-The system seems fine; but the *refrancisation* agents should be more negative in their task.
-Force more so that everyone speaks French.

Refrancisation agents
-Have not seen any of those agents during the weekend.
-Better know, clarify the role of agents.
-There were some?
-Have motivation agents for the AFG as a whole
-Reinforce and encourage the use of French."

[37] "It is mentioned that, quite contrarily, what needs to be done instead is to educate parents that these are the Francophone Games, thus we ask them to respect the French environment that frames the event. A lot of work needs to be done to reassure parents."

The idea of the quality of written or spoken French rarely appears, but during the preparations for the 1994 Games, organizers proposed to create a committee to review all documents, particularly those sent to parents, for spelling mistakes (SJFA, 1996g).

These are but a few examples of organizers' efforts to encourage and regulate the use of French. However, there is a difference between formulating rules and policies and enforcing them. One organizer joked that if they were to enforce the regulation regarding youths' effort to speak French: "On se retrouverait avec trois ou quatre jeunes puis une cinquantaine de bénévoles." (SJFA/Eh, 1996). Her comment may have been closer to exageration than reality, but it did underline the fact that many, if not most, of the participants converse in English among each other during the weekend. Although the rhetoric of organizers was centered on ensuring the performance of French, they would not even consider enforcing the regulations to actually return a participant home because of his or her lack of effort to communicate in French (SJFA/Eh, 1996; SJFA/Ei, 1996). Moreover, *chefs de mission* rarely have the opportunity to 'select' participants. Despite accepting all youths who express an interest in the AFG, they were until 1998 rarely able to fill all available spaces on the delegation. Or, when they did have the opportunity to select a volleyball team, for instance, among a large number of potential participants the coach or *chef de mission* sometimes selected the best athletes instead of the participants most likely to speak French. Recruiting volunteers to help supervise and coach participants is more difficult and worse in regions where there are few French speakers. Consequently, *chefs de mission* will enroll whomever is willing to accompany the delegation.

Notwithstanding the limited application of SJFA policies and rules pertaining to the use of French, the idea that the francophone speaks French and must perform in French is a fundamental component of the organization of the Games. Likewise, in the community the practice of French is established as the crux of francophoneness. One francophone leader actually hypothesized that the distinctions among francophones--the social classes in the community--are based on the command of the French language.

> Nos classes, nous autres, sociales francophones, sont plus langagières qu'elles sont économiques. Celui qui parle bien a des positions de leadership comparativement à celui qui parle moins bien. Alors tu peux avoir bien de l'argent, et ne pas être un leader parce que tu as de la difficulté à t'exprimer. Si tu veux être capable de monter dans la hiérarchie, t'en aller vers l'élite dirigeante, c'est une question de langue, qui je pense est le critère de base.[38] (ACFA/Ed, 1997).

Indeed, both the linguistic and the cultural discourses framing the Games and producing the francophone in the community share a basic assumption: Francophoneness is indissociable from the ability to communicate in French.

The distinction between the two francophone discourses is that linguistic 'truths' produce a community based on French language whereas cultural 'truths' add a cultural

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[38] "Our classes, our francophone social classes, are more linguistic than economic. The one who speaks well has the leadership positions compared to the one that does not speak as well. So, you can have a lot of money, and not be a leader because you have difficulty communicating. If you want to advance in the hierarchy, become part of the ruling elite, the question of language, I think, is the basic criteria."

and historical dimension to membership in the community. The linguistic discourse potentially allows membership in the francophone community to all French speakers and offers a broad, pluri-cultural definition of the francophone.

> Par définition, nous autres, on dit que la francophonie c'est multiculturel. Il y a plusieurs cultures qui se développent à l'intérieur de la francophonie. C'est des cultures dont la langue d'usage est le français. (ACFA/E, 1997)[39]

One drawing produced by francophone leader also clearly illustrates the idea that the community is diverse, composed of various different groups bound together by French language. This leader made a sketch of a gem, a multifaceted precious stone. She explained that some facets were more obvious than others, but that there is a movement of the community/gem that allows us to see the various facets. According to her, the French language is the light that hits the gem and reflects various shades and colors, that is the diversity of the community (Société pour une école publique à Edmonton/E, 1997).

The cultural discourse has the opposite effect of limiting membership in the community by establishing an additional criterion. Not only should the francophone speak French, she should also share a distinct culture, in most cases associated to French Canadian ethnicity. The issue at stake in the debate about francophone identity and community then is culture. No one disputes the idea that the francophone must be able to speak French. Rather, the disagreement pertains to the cultural practices of the French speaker. Must a francophone share in a particular culture? Must she be French Canadian?

5.2 Delimiting segments crossing the francophone discourses

Although my purpose here is to disentangle and clarify the francophone discourses articulated in the context of the Games, I assume that identities are not unified and uncomplicated. Rather, my analysis of the effects of the enunciated 'truths' in the staging of this event attests that francophone identities are unstable, continually contested and reinvented. I argue that both francophone discourses are concurrently articulated at the AFG and in the community. The confusion is amplified by the fact that the linguistic and cultural discourses share a fundamental 'truth': The francophone speaks French. To put it simply, the distinction between the two discursive types of 'francophones' produced at the AFG is one of culture. However, the question of francophone community and identity is more complex. Indeed, three segments crossing the two discourses and generating additional dimensions of ambiguity further complicate the production of francophone identities at the Games. These three segments are: 1) French as a first vs. second/other language; 2) routine and/or strategic identity; 3) national and/or minority identity. The transverse segments cause further tensions between the various articulated 'truths' about francophoneness.

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[39] "By definition, we say that the francophonie is multicultural. There are many cultures that develop within the francophonie. French is the customary language of these cultures."

5.2.1 French as first vs. second/other language

The dichotomy that distinguishes French speakers according to their first language is the most widely articulated segment at the AFG and in the community. The status associated to having French as a first language creates a hierarchy of francophoneness within each discourse and leads to tensions in both linguistic and cultural francophone identities. This classification of identities ranks French speakers who learned French as their mother tongue as 'truer' francophones than others. Dispersed in both discourses and widely acknowledged by French speakers, this distinction between francophones causes discursive strain because it is not unanimously accepted.

The criterion of French as first language has been widely used in studies on the viability of francophone communities. In Bernard's (1990b) research for *Vision d'avenir*, for instance, mother tongue helped define francophoneness since the rates of ethnocultural, ethnolinguistic and linguistic continuity were all calculated among French speakers with French as first language. Castonguay's (1993, 1994) work on the linguistic characteristics of francophone communities also analyzed census data by focusing on the population with French as mother tongue. His results showed the same dismal outlook which Bernard (1990b, 1991) predicted for the future of francophone communities. According to Castonguay's analysis, the approximate rate of linguistic reproduction in the Alberta francophone community has decreased below the required rate of 1 to ensure inter-generation renewal.[40] Indeed, the rate of linguistic reproduction dropped from 1.02 in 1961 to 0.84 in 1971 and 0.34 in 1986 (Castonguay, 1994, p. 301). In light of Bernard's (1990b, 1991) and Castonguay's (1993, 1994) results, if the first language of a French speaker is used to delimit francophoneness, the future of the Alberta francophone community does appear bleak.

Perhaps this apparent decline in the population of French speakers with French as mother tongue motivated the ACFA and FJA changes from a cultural to a linguistic membership. Indeed, higher numbers of francophones can only help francophone associations in their political lobbying. Table 5 shows the latest census figures concerning the proportions of the Alberta French-speaking population with French as a first language[41]: it has decreased to 2.3 in 1996 from 2.9 in 1971 (Statistics Canada, 1997d, p.7). Enlarging the definition of francophoneness to include all French speakers as opposed to only those who have French as their first language makes an important numerical difference: 180,120 people (Statistics Canada, 1997c) instead of 58,305 (Statistics Canada, 1997a). It is therefore not surprising that francophone associations

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[40] Castonguay (1994) determined the rate of linguistic reproduction of the francophone population by calculating the ratio between the relative weight of children with French as a first language among the population of 0 to 9 years old and the relative weight of adults with French as first language among the population of 25 to 34 years old. The incidence of linguistic reproduction indicates, according to Castonguay (1994), the rate at which a linguistic group succeeds in renewing its share of the total population from one generation to another. The inter-generation renewal of the group is ensured if this rate is higher than 1, and it is compromised if the rate is lower than 1.

[41] It is useful to note that approximately one thousand of these French speakers also have another language, different than French or English, as mother tongue. While there is no immediate data available on the cultural origins of French speakers in Alberta, the fact that some French speakers have different first languages can be a manifestation of the cultural diversity in the French speaking population.

wishing to increase their membership and their political clout adopt the more inclusive perspective on francophoneness. The need for integration of all French speakers is also promoted by francophone leaders who wish to increase participation in francophone institutions without being exclusive about who 'counts' as a francophone.[42]

Table 5. Alberta French-speaking Population by Mother Tongue, Showing Age Groups, 1996 Census - 20% Sample Data

Mother Tongue	Total-Age Groups[43]	Under 15	15-24	25-44	45-64	65 and over
French	52,375	4,425	4,585	20,395	15,695	7,285
English and French	4,945	1,175	630	1,590	905	645
French and non-official language	670	35	60	240	230	115
English, French and non-official language	315	65	35	105	75	45

Source: Statistics Canada (1997a).

The linguistic 'truth' that all French speakers are on an equal footing circulates within the community, and most evidently at the associative level. This definition competes with the assumption that one may have a stronger claim to francophone identity if French is one's mother tongue. This latter premise is inherent in the classification of French speakers as "francophones" and "francophiles". The terms "francophone" and "francophile" surface, among other discursive sites, in SJFA, FJA and ACFA documents and interviews, but they take on different meanings. The ACFA statutes and regulations use "francophile", for instance, to describe non-French speakers who respect and support francophone language and culture (ACFA, 1992) while it appears in FJA and SJFA documents to characterize youths who have French as a second or other language (FJA, 1996c; SJFA, 1996a). However, the most widely accepted definition of "francophile" I have encountered during my fieldwork is the latter. The distinction between native French speakers and 'others' is also illustrated in the labels "immersion" or "immersion youths" commonly pronounced in organizers' statements to describe participants for whom French is a second language, perhaps rarely spoken.[44]

Although they acknowledge a difference among French speakers based on first language, most statements in ACFA, FJA and SJFA documents tend to officially include all French speakers in their membership. For instance, AFG organizers concerned with

[42] As illustrated in section 4.1.2.6 by Moreau's (1997) argument that higher numbers are needed to ensure the future of francophone schools.

[43] I have reprinted the data provided by Statistics Canada (1997a). Statistics Canada rounds each figure to 0 or 5. This mathematical operation is done on the 20% sample data. Therefore, the numbers given in this column are not necessarily the totals of the figures given in each age category.

[44] Yet, students in French immersions programs or schools sometimes do have French as a first language and speak French at home. One of the reasons for this, is that francophone programs or schools are not available throughout the province. Another reason is that some parents sometimes prefer to send their children, despite being *ayants droits*, to English or French immersion schools.

creating an inclusive environment for all French speakers have initiated a significant shift in the use of labels describing potential participants. Whereas French-speaking adolescents eligible to take part in the Games were at one point described as "Franco-Albertan youths" or "francophones" and "francophiles" in the FJA and SJFA documents, by the 1996 Games an effort was made to adopt one single term, "French-speaking youths". The change of descriptors was a conscious strategy to erase divisions associated with the status of French as a first or second/other language. Apart from the FPFA, the other organizations included in this study also open their membership to all French speakers, regardless of mother tongue.[45]

However, interviews with a few AFG organizers and ACFA and FJA leaders revealed that a French speaker's first language is nevertheless important. One respondent even acknowledged that while the opposite is publicly pronounced, mother tongue is, in reality, significant (ACFA/Ed, 1997).[46] The relevance of the distinction between native French speakers and those who speak French as a second/other language is illustrated in the recruitment strategy of AFG organizers. Although the Games are open to all French speakers, organizers put more efforts in recruiting participants from francophone schools than French immersion schools (FJA/Ed, 1997; SJFA/En, 1997).[47]

It is in establishing an inexorable link between French language and culture that these organizers and francophone leaders shifted from linguistic 'truths' to cultural 'truths, thus complicating the production of the ambiguous definition of the francophone.

> Christine: Pourquoi c'est important de faire les Jeux francophone de l'Alberta?
> J: Moi, je dis que ce serait faire un rassemblement de ..., là c'est *touchy*. Faire un rassemblement de personnes s'exprimant en français. Parce qu'on comprend là-dedans les francophones, les francophiles. Alors, je pense que ce serait ça, ce serait un gros rassemblement de personnes pouvant s'exprimer en français. (...)
> Christine: Pourquoi c'est *"touchy"* ?
> J: C'est *touchy* parce que c'est ... Bien on se dit: "Okay on approche..." Quand tu dis un francophile--un francophile est-ce que c'est quelqu'un qui est juste capable de dire oui ou non? Sans savoir ce que c'est nécessairement. C'est très difficile. On a parlé des ayants droits, on a parlé des... Bon. Tu peux avoir un ayant droit qui n'a jamais parlé français. Puis, il ne sait même pas dire oui ou non. Puis, il sait comment appeler oui ou non. Et il dit: "Okay, j'peux participer aux Jeux!" Comme la même chose d'un francophile. Puis là entre la question d'identité culturelle. C'est toujours la même chose. Si moi je suis capable de dire *yes* ou *no*, ça veut dire que je peux participer aux activités anglophones. Mais est-ce que ça veut dire que je m'identifie à

[45] The FPFA does not necessarily exclude parents who do not have French as a first language. Indeed, a major part of its efforts are directed towards integrating English-speaking spouses of francophone parents in the francophone education process (Trousse d'exogamie "Let's parler", 1999). But my interview with the executive-director and the articles and letters published in the Franco lead me to conclude that this organization was created to fight for the rights of parents who learned French as mother tongue.
[46] And that there should be a difference between public pronouncements and reality is itself significant.
[47] This issue will be discussed in further detail in Chapter Six.

> cette culture anglophone? Pas nécessairement. Mais je peux être considéré comme participant quand même. Donc, c'est toute cette dynamique je pense qu'il faut englober. Et c'est pour ça qu'on met l'accent aussi sur le niveau culturel. C'est pour essayer d'attirer le plus possible... Okay, on ouvre ça *at large* à tout le monde qui peut s'exprimer en français. Mais c'est d'aller surtout chercher ceux qui veulent se rapprocher de cette identité culturelle. C'est certain qu'un francophile qui dit oui ou non peut être très bien disons intéressé à vivre cette identité culturelle, qui est francophone ou... Et puis, c'est bien comme ça. Il y en a d'autres je suis certain qu'ils sont là juste comme ça durant la fin de semaine parce qu'ils peuvent le faire. Pour l'opportunité de le faire. Puis, ils entrent aussi dans les critères d'admissibilité. Mais...[48] (SJFA/Ea, 1996).

This discursive shift also underlines the distinction established among French speakers. First, such statements infer that whoever learned French as a child speaks it more fluently than other French speakers. Second, it is assumed that if French is an individual's first language, then he or she has naturally inherited the history and culture of the community. In this case, the dividing line between 'us' and 'them' is drawn between native French speakers who presumably share French Canadian ethnicity and those French speakers for whom French is a second/other language and who supposedly have different cultural origins.

Yet, a contradictory 'truth' also articulated in the cultural discourse presumes that the mere practice of speaking French will inherently make one aware of the history and culture of the community. In other words, French speakers who have learned French as a second/other language will learn about French Canadian culture by adopting the language and by participating in francophone activities and institutions. It is as if by

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[48] "Christine: Why is it important to stage the Alberta Francophone Games?
J: I say that it is to organize a gathering of... it is touchy. Organize a gathering of people that can speak French. Because we include francophones, francophiles. So, I think that is what it is, a huge gathering of people that can speak French. (...)
Christine: Why is it "touchy"?
J: It is touchy because it is... Well, we say: "Okay, we will approach..." When you say a francophile--a francophile is it just someone that can say *oui* or *non*? Without knowing what it necessarily is? It is very difficult. We talked about the *ayants droits*, we talked about the... Okay. You can have an *ayant droit* who has never spoken French. And he does not even know *oui* or *non*. Then, he learns *oui* and *non*. And he says: 'Okay, I can participate in the Games'. Same thing with a francophile. And then the question of cultural identity comes in. It is always the same thing. If I can say 'yes' and 'no', that means that I can participate in anglophone activities. But does it mean that I identify with that anglophone culture? Not necessarily. But I can still be considered a participant. So, it is this dynamic that we need to consider. And that is why we emphasize the cultural dimension. It is to try and mostly attract... Okay, we open the Games at large to everyone who can speak French. But it is mostly to go get those that want to get closer to the cultural identity. Admittedly, a francophile that can say *oui* or *non* can very well be interested in living this cultural identity that is francophone or... And that is fine. There are others, I am sure, that are only there during the weekend because they can be there. For the opportunity. And they also fall under the admissibility criteria. But..."

learning French, one were to acquire the culture automatically.[49] Or in the case of French speakers who have learned French as a first language but are from different cultural origins, participation in the community is what presumably immerses them in French Canadian culture. During a group interview, leaders of SJFA emphasized this presumed centrality of culture in the definition of the francophone community. This led me to inquire if all members of the community should then be expected to share this culture. The discussion progressed as follows:

> F: Pas tout le monde devrait l'avoir, mais devrait la, bien "devrait" c'est un mot fort, mais la connaîtrait. Si tu fais partie de la communauté francophone tout le monde la connaîtrait. Tu serais sensibilisé.
> [...]
> V: Tu peux t'ouvrir à la culture. Moi, je pense que tu peux t'ouvrir à la culture canadienne-française ...
> F: Et être sensibilisé.
> V: À travers la communauté. À travers ce qui se passe dans la communauté francophone.
> [...]
> Christine: Et je devrais la connaître cette culture? Juste du fait que je suis en Alberta et que je parle français?
> F: Pas devrait la connaître. Non, pas devrait la connaître. Mais je veux dire que tu serais sensibilisé (...)
> [...]
> B: Par défaut?
> F: Par défaut. C'est ça. Ce n'est pas que tu devrais, mais que tu es sensibilisé par défaut. (SJFA/Ea, 1996).[50]

This exchange demonstrates that, in the cultural discourse, the French language can not be separated from the traditions and culture being promoted. To become part of the community, the "francophile" must not only speak French, but also adopt the culture of the community.

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[49] It should be noted that based on the assumption that language and culture are closely linked, French immersion programs in Alberta are specifically geared towards an understanding, or an acquisition, of not only the French language but also of francophone culture in Canada.

[50] "F: Not everyone should have it, but should, well "should" is a strong word, but they would know it. If you are part of the francophone community, everyone would know it. You would be aware of it.
[...]
V: You can open up to the culture. I think that you can open up to French Canadian culture.
F: And be aware of it.
V: Through the community. Through what happens in the francophone community.
[...]
C: And I should know this culture? Merely because I am in Alberta and I speak French?
F: Not should know it. No, not should know it. But what I mean is that you would be aware of it (...)
[...]
B: By default?
F: By default. That's it. It's not that you should, but you would be aware by default."

> Je pense que la communauté franco-albertaine a quand même cette ouverture d'accueillir tout bon francophile, si on peut dire, qui est désireux. Parce qu'on en retrouve même dans nos écoles. C'est toujours traité cas par cas. Mais on en a quand même... Je regarde des personnes comme Larry Linch[51] qui est un anglophone et qui contribue tellement à la francophonie. Et on en a d'autres de l'étoffe comme Larry qui apportent beaucoup à la communauté francophone. Alors, je pense que oui, la communauté francophone accueille, elle accueille ces francophiles qui épousent la culture francophone et qui contribuent beaucoup à développer cette fierté et à renforcer l'identité.[52] (FPFA/E, 1997).

The discursive shift apparent in the interviews with some francophone leaders and AFG organizers reveals that it is one thing to invite and attract all French speakers to ensure higher participation numbers at the AFG, in francophone associations, schools and other institutions. But it is another to open up the definition of francophoneness to fully include all French speakers and allow them the same claim to francophone identity and community. The French as first language vs. second/other language dichotomy is articulated in such a way that all French speakers are invited to participate in francophone activities and to contribute to francophone institutions. However, the persistence of the cultural discourse expressed through the classification of francophones vs. francophiles/immersion reveals that their the acceptance of 'other' French speakers as 'true' francophones is not complete.

5.2.2 Routine and/or strategic identity

I have drawn on francophone studies to gain a better understanding of the next two dichotomous components of identity intersecting francophone discourses. Thériault's (1994) discussion about the "indécision identitaire" (uncertain identity) of francophone communities has been particularly insightful in clarifying other factors of ambivalence acting on the production of the francophone and operating in the context of the AFG. He describes francophone communities as communities of destiny, implying that members believe they share a common historical experience and a common fate. Using Weber's concepts (1956, 1967/1971, p. 41), Thériault (1994) explains that a community of destiny can result from either relationships of "communalisation" or relationships of "sociation".

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[51] At least three respondents named this individual as an example of an English speaker who embraced French language and French Canadian culture and was thus considered a full member of the francophone community. By referring to this individual, respondents were wanting to point to the fact that anyone can adopt the culture and therefore be deemed a francophone. In this sense, they viewed the community as being open to non-French Canadians--as long as they took the necessary steps to 'fit' in.

[52] "I think that the Franco-Albertan community has a certain openness and welcomes all francophiles that, if I might say, are willing. Because we do find some in our schools. It is always treated case by case. But we have some... I think of people like Larry Linch who is an anglophone and who contributes so much to the *francophonie*. And we have others just like Larry that bring a lot to the francophone community. So, I think that yes, the francophone community welcomes, it welcomes these francophiles who adopt francophone culture and who greatly contribute greatly to developing this pride and reinforcing the identity."

The first mode of integration is based on a subjective sense of belonging. Historically, French Canadian culture and experience has sustained the subjective dimension of francophone identity. Juteau's work (Juteau-Lee 1979, 1980, 1983) on the majority/minority relationships producing francophone communities and fostering belief in a shared cultural heritage has demonstrated the historical contribution of relationships of *communalisation* in building these communities. The role of relationships based on a common culture in constructing the francophone community is also underlined in the following AFG organizer's definition of the community:

> La communauté c'est une collectivité de gens qui partagent quelque chose en commun. [...] Ça va être soi un lien familial. Ça va être soit une paroisse. Ça va être soit une région. Ça va être soit une langue. Il y a toujours la langue ou la culture qui est la base.[53] (SJFA/Ec, 1997).

The second mode of integration is achieved when the basis of the constituting "social relationships is a compromise of rationally motivated interests" (Weber, 1956, 1967/1971, p. 41, my translation). Relationships of *sociation* are typically based on a mutual commitment to a rational agreement. Breton (1983, 1985) has focused on the organizational capacity of francophone communities to engage in political action for collective aims. His work has therefore revealed how contractual agreements among francophones, particularly their social action aimed at establishing their own institutional network, contribute to the production of their communities. The following AFG organizer's definition of "francophone community" illustrates the importance of political action as a measure of francophoneness.

> Je dirais que c'est des gens, un regroupement de personnes qui ont les mêmes buts ou les mêmes objectifs par rapport au fait français en Alberta. Qui visent, disons, à garder ou à s'assurer qu'on va garder nos écoles françaises, nos associations, en français. Tout ça. Qui visent à maintenir et aussi à obtenir plus de droits pour les francophones en Alberta.[54] (SJFA/Ef, 1996).

These two types of social relationships building francophone communities produce, in principle and tendentially at least, two kinds of identities: routine or strategic identities. That is, social relationships based on a shared culture or language (relationships of *communalisation*) lead to a routine identity, while political and contractual relationships (relationships of *sociation*) invoke a strategic identity. I derive the routine/strategic conceptual dichotomy from Giddens's (1984) definition of

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[53] "The community is a collectivity of people who share something in common. [...] It can be a family tie. It can be a parish. It can be a region. It can be a language. Language or culture is always the basis of community."

[54] "I would say that it is people, a group of people who share the same purpose or objectives concerning French language in Alberta. They seek, for example, to preserve or to ensure that we will preserve our francophone schools, our associations, in French. All of that. They seek to maintain as well as to obtain more rights for francophones in Alberta."

consciousness.[55] It denotes two forms of consciousness/identity: one which appears spontaneous and deals with ordinary activity, such as the act of writing a grocery list; the other, which deals with purposive action and can be characterized as reflexive. It is a characteristic of minority identities that some of their components have to be explicitly problematized, and therefore strategic to living that identity, rather than taken for granted. For instance, when I lived in a majority francophone environment and then in a bilingual environment, I spontaneously wrote my grocery list in French. However, a few months after moving to Alberta and living in an anglophone environment, I found myself writing my grocery list in English. For the first time, I recognized the unconscious effects of linguistic transfer to the dominant language.

Since then, I make a conscious effort to write my list of groceries in French. That is, living and thinking in French became more of a strategic decision. It was no longer a predominantly unproblematic spontaneous practice because I no longer was surrounded by other French speakers who performed the same language. It had rather become 'natural' to speak and write in English since my daily interactions, or relationships of *communalisation*, were conducted on the basis of my ability to speak English. In the same way that I consciously try to perform some of my daily practices in French, many Alberta francophones make an effort to support francophone institutions. For instance, some of them make a specific point of tuning in to the province's Radio-Canada station even when the programming is not entirely to their taste. In a number of cases, then, a practice that might appear routinized takes on a strategic quality.

Francophone discourses observed at the AFG and in the community reflect both modes of integration. However, while both linguistic and cultural definitions of francophoneness can potentially produce either routine or strategic identities, the analysis of interviews and documents reveals that francophone leaders and AFG organizers emphasized the strategic dimension of francophone identity. Although speaking in French is more of an habitual practice for francophone leaders and many AFG organizers compared to youth participants as we will see in Chapter Seven, interviews do stress the importance of making a conscious decision to live in French or to live the shared culture and, in some cases, the importance of participating in francophone institutions.

The respondents who articulated the linguistic discourse did pronounce statements that define the community on the basis of shared language. If you speak French, you are a francophone. Provided that speaking in French is a spontaneous practice, francophone identity can be produced as routinized in the linguistic discourse. However, francophone leaders and AFG organizers articulating linguistic 'truths' have generally insisted that membership is also contingent on the French speaker's effort and commitment to French language.

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[55] Thériault (1994) distinguishes between these identities by naming them "cultural" and "political" identities. I prefer to use the terms "routine" and "strategic" for two reasons. First, replacing the term "cultural" by "routine" avoids confusing identities produced in the cultural discourse (as opposed to those produced in the linguistic discourse) with those delimited through relationships of *communalisation*. Second, the routine/strategic conceptual dichotomy brings further nuance to the identities delineated by relationships of *communalisation* vs. relationships of *sociation*.

> Mais, pour moi la différence c'est le moment que tu décides que tu vas parler français et ça devient comme une routine et une partie de ta vie. Moi, c'est là la ligne qui sépare être francophone vs. être francophile.[56] (FJA/Ee, 1997).

According to this organizer, the strategic dimension of identity precedes its routinized incarnation. This is different from my analogy to the grocery list in which the disruption in spontaneous practice had lead to conscious action to 'correct' the situation. In this latter quote, the habit of speaking or living in French follows the strategic decision, as if living in French unproblematically was not possible in a minority context. Both sequences are indeed possible. The significant point here is that the francophone makes a commitment to French language.

Indeed, a francophone leader born in Quebec explained that she does belong to the Alberta francophone community because of her involvement and pledge to its development.

> Il faut laisser tomber nos préjugés. Moi, une chose qui me blessait beaucoup--je suis passé ça--mais quand on me demandait: "Es-tu Franco-Albertaine?" Bien, moi je te dirais que depuis onze ans que je suis ici, oui, je suis Franco-Albertaine. Parce que j'y donne coeur et âme. Alors, c'est quoi la vrai définition d'un Franco-Albertain? J'avais de la misère avec ça. Ça, il faut que ça casse. (...) Il faut accepter que premièrement on appartient à un pays qui est francophone où on permet d'accueillir tout le monde, que ce soit des gens de peau noir, des asiatiques ou de n'importe quel groupe ethnique. Tu es francophone, tu contribues à la francophonie, tu as ta place et tu es important. Parce qu'on ne peut pas juste dire: "Oui, tu as ta place, mais ne vient pas me dire quoi faire. Et ne vient surtout pas gérer nos organismes parce que tu ne *fit* pas dans..." Ça, je trouve qu'il y a encore beaucoup à faire.[57] (FPFA/E, 1997).

This leader wished for a linguistic community that would welcome all French speakers, but she was aware that there is some resistance. Her response to this opposition was to invoke one's contribution to the community as a more appropriate criterion of francophoneness than one's ethnicity or place of birth. It is through their involvement in the Games and in community activities and institutions that the many AFG organizers

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[56] "But, I think the difference lies in the moment when you decide to speak French and it becomes a routine and a part of your life. That is where I draw the line that distinguishes the francophone from the francophile."

[57] "We have to let go of our prejudice. One thing that used to hurt me a lot--it does not affect me anymore--is when I was asked: 'Are you a Franco-Albertan?' Well, I would say that I have been in Alberta for eleven years, yes, I am a Franco-Albertan. Because I devote myself wholeheartedly. So, what is the real definition of a Franco-Albertan? That would bother me. It has to change. (...) We have to accept, first of all, that we belong to a francophone country where we welcome everyone, black, Asian or from any ethnic group. You are francophone, you contribute to the *francophonie*, you have a place and you are important. Because we can not just say: 'Yes, you have a place but do not tell us what to do. And most importantly do not manage our organizations because you do not fit in...' To achieve this, I think there is still much to do."

from Quebec produced themselves as members of the Alberta francophone community. Their contribution to francophone life became the criterion for their own self-definition as francophones. It also at times served as the criterion, rather than their provincial origins, for their acceptance by others as members of the community (ACFA/Ed, 1997). Therefore, relationships of *sociation* can act as a form of integration into the community for those French speakers who do not share the same birthplace or cultural heritage.

Some francophone leaders and AFG organizers felt that a French speaker's conscious decision to live, at least part of her life, in French is sufficient to claim membership in the community and that it is wrong to insist that it depends on one's visible presence at community events.

> Et je trouve que de dire que certains gens n'appartiennent pas à la communauté francophone parce que on ne les voient pas nécessairement dans les activités, ou on ne les voient pas s'impliquer bénévolement, ils n'y appartiennent pas. Moi, je trouve que c'est de se tirer dans le pied.[58] (FPFA/E, 1997).

But how then can one's commitment to French language be determined? Home language is often used to provide information on the relative importance of French language in French speakers' daily lives (Breton, 1990b; Castonguay, 1994). While it is an accessible form of measurement it does present some disadvantages. French speakers in Alberta can, for example, spend part of the day in a French-speaking environment such as francophones schools or *Faculté Saint-Jean*, yet speak English at home with an anglophone spouse or parent. Still, home language offers some indication of the number of French speakers who speak French at least part of the day. Table 6 shows that if such a criterion is used to define francophoneness, the number of francophones in the province would be much smaller than the total number of French speakers.

Other respondents insisted that the effort to speak French in one's private life is not enough. A 'true' francophone participates in francophone institutions and is actively involved in the struggle to obtain francophone rights.

> La communauté franco-albertaine c'est un rassemblement de tout ces gens qui, soit qu'ils se disent francophones, soit qu'ils croient qu'on devrait garder notre langue, qu'on devrait promouvoir notre langue pour participer, continuer des activités francophones dans la province. Pour moi, c'est ça la communauté. C'est des gens qui vont se supporter l'un l'autre. Si il y a une manifestation comme... Moi, je n'étais pas en ville lorsque l'affaire Léo Piquette[59] s'est passée. J'ai vu des photos de

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[58] "And I find that to say that certain people do not belong in the francophone community because we do not necessarily see them at activities, or we do not see them volunteer, they do not belong. I think this is counterproductive."

[59] In 1987, the MLA Léo Piquette had notified the Minister of Education, the Honorable Nancy Betkowski, that he would ask her a question in French in the Legislature. She had agreed and was ready to answer his question in French. When he stood in the Legislature and asked his question, the Speaker interrupted him and told him, in French, that he was to continue speaking in English only. The Speaker also asked the MLA to present an apology for having spoken in French in the Legislature. M. Piquette refused to apologize. The Speaker banished him from the Legislature saying that he would be allowed to return only

> ça et j'ai vu à la télévision aussi. Ça, c'est un exemple de communauté. C'est un événement qui s'est passé pendant cinq minutes dans la législature qui a créé un tremblement dans la communauté franco-albertaine. Et les gens sont venus de partout pour manifester contre le gouvernement, contre les politiciens. C'est ça une communauté.[60] (SJFA/En, 1997).

A francophone is expected to take on a public role, to support francophone associations, pay her ACFA membership, tune in SRC radio/television, attend or send her children to francophone school, read the Franco and more.

Table 6. Alberta French-speaking Population by Home Language, Showing Age Groups, 1996 Census - 20% Sample Data

Home Language	Total-Age Groups[61]	Under 15	15-24	25-44	45-64	65 and over
French	15,730	2,990	1,565	4,990	3,780	2,405
English and French	3,900	975	470	1,110	750	610
French and non-official language	90	20	10	30	25	15
English, French and non-official language	290	95	35	85	55	15
Total French-speaking population in Alberta by home language: 20,010						
Source: Statistics Canada (1997b)						

In the cultural discourse, the routinized dimension is manifested in the establishment of culture as the 'nature' of francophoneness. Speakers of this discourse

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once he apologized. The event made the headlines across Canada and was reported internationally as well. Piquette's expulsion from the Legislature created quite an uproar in the Alberta francophone community. Indeed, the symbolism involved in forbidding French language was violent (ACFA/Ea, 1997). The ACFA took action by hiring the lawyer Michel Bastarache to study regulations pertaining to the use of French in Canadian Legislatures. FJA organized a demonstration in front of the Legislature Buildings, drawing a crowd of 300-400 students, teachers and others. "L'affaire Piquette" had a very significant effect in the community stirring even moderate francophones to speak out against such an affront to francophones. The conclusion of the incident was that MLAs would be required to notify the Speaker in advance if they wanted to address the Legislature in French as well as provide him with the French and the English text of their question. (ACFA/Ea, 1997; ACFA/Ee, 1999).

[60] "The Franco-Albertan community is a group of people who either define themselves as francophones, either they believe that we should preserve our language, that we should promote our language to participate, to pursue francophone activities in the province. In my opinion, that is the community. It is a group of people that support one another. If there is a demonstration like... I was not in town when *l'affaire Léo Piquette* happened. I saw photos and I saw it on television too. That is an example of community. It is an event that lasted 5 minutes in the legislature building that caused a tremor in the Franco-Albertan community. And people came from all over to demonstrate against the government, against politicians. That is a community."

[61] I have reprinted the data provided by Statistics Canada (1997b). Statistics Canada rounds each figure to 0 or 5. Therefore, the numbers given in this column are not necessarily the totals of the figures given in each age category

conceived of a history and culture inherently shared and lived by all francophones. For instance, members of the SJFA Administrative Council clearly constructed French Canadian culture as the core of francophoneness and the essence that brings francophones together as a community (SJFA/Ea, 1996). Furthermore, this shared culture was lived as an intrinsic and unchangeable part of themselves. During this interview, one of the organizers compared the francophone community to a pizza and culture to the tomato sauce on which rested all pizza toppings representing francophones. When I paraphrased her comments and asked if it meant that all francophones were "in" French Canadian culture, another organizer replied:

> Oui. Forcément. Forcément. Ce n'est pas parce que tu veux l'être. Moi, je n'y penserais pas à chaque jour: "Est-ce je fais quelque chose pour faire partie de la culture canadienne-française aujourd'hui?" Non. Je baigne dedans.[62] (SJFA/Ea, 1996).

And yet, because of the need to problematize explicitly this culture, rather than just living it unproblematically, a strategic or performative component is inserted into this otherwise ascriptive outlook. AFG organizers did not simply live this French Canadian culture spontaneously. Their statements in documents and in interviews underline the perceived need to promote and maintain this culture, a culture threatened as a result of the minority status of the community and by the pervasiveness of English-speaking popular culture. The cultural discourse then construes the Games as an event through which French Canadian culture can be shared with youths and therefore sustained.

Unsurprisingly, this need to problematize culture meets with limited success. Despite there being ample references to culture and its prominence at the Games, the articulated idea of culture is vague and organizers put more thought and time in preparing other aspects of the AFG, such as the sport competitions, than the cultural program. Culture is sufficiently important to talk about it, to proclaim it in official programs and documents. But it is not a priority when it comes to taking action. At least, it is not a priority compared to other aspects of the AFG as we will see in Chapter Six.

Still, AFG organizers who draw on the cultural discourse insist on the primacy of culture and on the conscious decision to preserve it. The 'truths' producing the explicitly strategic identity in the cultural discourse state that the francophone not only inherits or adopts the francophone heritage but also actively participates in, and promotes, it.

> B: Communauté française, francophone? C'est ça. Oui, des gens qui communiquent en français.
> [...]
> F: Et qui veulent vivre la culture.
> V: Qui la promeuvent ici en Alberta.[63] (SJFA/Ea, 1996).

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[62] "Yes. Inevitably. Inevitably. It is not because you want to be. I do not, every day, think: 'Am I doing something to be part of French Canadian culture today?' No. I am immersed in it."

[63] "B: French community, francophone community? That's it. Yes, people who communicate in French.
[...]
F: And that want to live the culture.
V: That promote it here in Alberta."

> [Un Franco-Albertain] C'est un Albertain qui porte un chapeau francophone. Ça a beaucoup affaire avec ça. Pour moi, un Franco-Albertain, c'est quelqu'un qui veut s'afficher comme Franco-Albertain. Qui parle le français, qui est fier de sa culture et de sa langue. Ça n'a pas affaire avec sa naissance ou qu'est-ce qui est appris comme langue première. C'est: est-ce qu'il veut être affiché comme Franco-Albertain? Est-ce qu'il a le vouloir de parler en français?[64] (SJFA/Ec, 1997).

Indeed, a 'true' member of the community will devote at least some time and effort to live the culture and will be an advocate for its place in the community. It is by going to Catholic mass Sunday mornings, by attending francophone school or by participating in the *Fête franco-albertaine*, the *Cabane à sucre* and other francophone activities that the French speaker publicly manifests his culture and produces himself as a francophone.

> S'ils participent à une activité ou une réunion ou une soirée où il y a des francophones et que c'est une activité francophone où le français est la langue majoritairement parlée, ils font partie de la communauté, de cet événement. Ils ne sont pas obligés d'être là tout le temps 24 heures par jour en train de parler français. En autant qu'ils participent quand ils veulent. C'est pas un devoir ou une obligation quoiqu'il y a des gens qui pensent le contraire.
> [...]
> Oui, si tu vis [le français], pour moi, c'est ça. Tu ne peux pas imposer aux gens d'être à toutes les Cabanes à sucre et à toutes les activités francophones. Il y en a bien trop. Mais, on essaie d'encourager les gens à participer à différentes choses.[65] (SJFA/Ed, 1997).

Another francophone leader declared that the members of the community are all those who are willing to volunteer (ACFA/Ed, 1997). As long as French speakers contribute to the community and accept the established values, they can be welcome in the community. To be recognized as a francophone, the French speaker must be visible in the community, and must support francophone institutions and the values already established in the community.

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[64] "[A Franco-Albertan] is an Albertan wearing a francophone hat. It has a lot do with that. I think that a Franco-Albertan is someone who presents himself as Franco-Albertan. Who speaks French, who his proud of his culture and his language. It does not have to do with birth or first language. It is: Does he want to present himself as Franco-Albertan? Does he have the will to speak in French?"

[65] "C: If they participate in an activity, in a meeting or an evening where there are francophones and it is an activity where French is language mostly spoken, they are part of the community of that event. They do not have to be there all the time, 24 hours a day speaking in French. As long as they participate when they want to. It is not a duty or an obligation even though some people think differently.
[...]
Yes, I think that if you live [in French], that is it. You can not impose all the *Cabanes à sucre* and all francophone activities on people. There are too many of them. But, we try to encourage people to participate in different things."

Evidently, some respondents, whether they produced linguistic or cultural 'truths', added a participation aspect to the strategic dimension of francophone identity. This community involvement criterion creates a hierarchy of francophoneness in the same way that mother tongue is used to distinguish among French speakers. One FJA leader's drawing illustrates the distinction among francophones by placing 'active' francophones at the core of the community, and those who speak French but do not participate at the periphery of this center (FJA/Ee, 1997). That francophones leaders and AFG organizers would expect members of the community to take part in activities, events and organizations is to be expected. These respondents were themselves actively involved in the institutional network. They devoted time and energy to the francophone cause. Furthermore, it is through this involvement that they reinforced their own francophoneness and that they were integrated into the community. Francophones whom they met, socialized and interacted with were those French speakers who were visible in the institutional network. They expressed their attachment to the community by contributing to francophone associations and therefore viewed this kind of participation as a meaningful way to manifest one's belonging to the community. If others did not participate in community activities, how could they be recognized as francophones?

The importance of contributing to the community by supporting francophone associations, volunteering or at least showing up for activities can also be associated to the fact that the francophone community is a minority and that its language and/or culture are perceived to be undermined. Therefore, the survival of the community is perceived to be dependent on the commitment of all francophones.

The strategic dimension of francophone identity is the most prevalent in interviews with francophone leaders and AFG organizers. Yet, just as respondents vacillated between the linguistic and the cultural discourses, they sometimes articulated contradictory statements concerning the routine/strategic dichotomy. Some statements asserted that relationships of *communalisation* were sufficient to define the community; others insisted that only relationships of *sociation* should be the basis of community; and others defined the community as consisting of both kinds of relationships.

> Qui est membre [de la communauté francophone]? Tu as des francophones, moi j'appelle ça des francophones convaincus. Eux vont manger tout ce qu'il y a de français. Eux sont à tout ce qu'il y a de français. (...) Tu as ceux qui, tu as tout ceux qui y sont par habitude. Les parents étaient là et ils sont là, et tout ça. Mais qui ne croient pas trop. Mais ils sont là. Tu as des gens qui arrivent du Québec, de l'Est, de l'Ontario, du Nouveau-Brunswick. Tu as ceux qui sont entre deux, ils ne sont pas branchés encore. (...) C'est plus un rassemblement de différents degrés d'appartenance à la francophonie, c'est tout. Et ils sont francophones, ils se disent francophones.[66] (SJFA/Eb, 1997).

[66] "Who is a member [of the francophone community]? You have the francophones, I call them the convinced francophones. They consume everything that is in French. They are at every event that is held in French. (...) You have those that are there by habit. Their parents were there, and they are there and all that. But, they do not believe in it too much. But they are there. You have the people that come from Quebec, from the East, from Ontario, from New Brunswick. You have those that are in-between, they have not made up their mind yet. (...) It is a group of people with different degrees of belonging to the *francophonie*, that is all. And they are francophones, they identify themselves as francophones."

The ambivalence among individuals but also within a same individual's statements adds another dimension to francophone identity's uncertainty.

In the context of the Games, the ambiguity between the two modes of integration into the community exists. Yet, it is not prevalent since the focus of the event is really on those French speakers who do participate in one capacity or another. Indeed, the routine/strategic dichotomy operates at the AFG with an important given: Whether their participation is predominantly routinized or a conscious political decision to support a francophone activity, organizers and volunteers were 'active'. The tension created by the routine/strategic segment crossing the francophone discourses acts on the division between those who help out and the 'absent' French speakers. The distinction seems to be more relevant when volunteers and organizers are needed rather then when participants are recruited. Perhaps 'adults' were considered to have a greater responsibility towards the community?[67]

5.2.3 National and/or minority identity

Thériaut (1994) further distinguishes between "ethnic" communities of destiny and "national" communities of destiny. Both can be either predominantly based on relationships of *communalisation* or *sociation*. What defines a community as national is that it has the potential to achieve institutional completeness at the political level. Indeed, the nation is close to political autonomy. In Canada today, only Quebec francophones can aspire to achieve the highest degrees of institutional completeness through their provincial government.[68] Other francophone communities, such as Alberta's, have become minorities within their provincial boundaries. Thériault (1994) claims they have moved to a strategic identity but also to an "ethnic" identity because of this minority relationship with their respective provincial government. He states that "[t]he rupture with old French Canada and Acadia instigated the transition from a predominantly cultural [routine] identity to a primarily political [strategic] (institutional and provincial) identity." (Thériault, 1994, p. 26; my translation). Once the dream of the French Canadian nation, based on relationships of *communalisation* collapsed, the now fragmented provincial islands acquired a contractual dimension.[69]

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[67] The Games are advertised as a "fun" event to attract youth. In recruiting participants/athletes, organizers' emphasis the sporting character of the AFG. Sport is used as a "lure" to attract youth. Once they have caught the bait, they are "immersed" in a francophone environment. Is it assumed that youths need to be attracted whereas 'adults' should already be integrated into the community?

[68] Acadians in New Brunswick have at least managed to obtain an officially bilingual province. Although they cannot aspire to the same degree of control over their provincial government as the francophones exercise in Quebec, Acadians in New Brunswick, according to Thériault (1994), are still closer to a national community than a minority/ethnic group since their project remains one of institutional autonomy.

[69] It should be noted that the character, timing and magnitude of this rupture are questioned. Denis (1996) has argued that for French Canadians in Quebec, the term French Canada referred to the territory within the boundaries of the Quebec province long before the assumed breakdown of the French Canadian nation. Consequently, the rupture of the French Canadian nation in the 1960s represents a change in how French Canadians outside Quebec came to understand the idea of French Canada. It should not refer to a rejection of French Canadians outside Quebec by Quebecers, since the "rupture" had already taken place in the dominant discourse in Quebec. It has also been demonstrated elsewhere that some French speakers outside

Not only did the fragmentation lead to a change in the nature of the social relationships producing these communities, it also ethnicized them. According to this view, French Canadians in Alberta were thus constructed as a minority within provincial boundaries. Thériault (1994) argues that francophone communities are caught between reproducing themselves as national or ethnic/minority groups. This results in an uncertain identity: "Francophone communities can not choose between the nation and the ethnic [minority] group since their reality is situated between the two" (Thériault, 1994, p. 26; my translation). His account of the indecisiveness of francophone communities refers to their production in the cultural discourse. According to his perspective, the Alberta francophone community is composed of French Canadians drawn together today not only on the basis of a shared cultural heritage but also on the basis of their mutual commitment to the francophone cause.

Thériault's (1994) argument, then, sheds light on the changing dynamics of two of the dichotomous components crossing the cultural discourse producing historical francophone identities in Canada. However, I argue that the uncertainty of francophone identities is even more complex. The indecision is not only associated to the change of predominant dichotomous components within the cultural identity, it is also a result of the emergence of the linguistic discourse threatening the hegemony of the historical definition of the francophone. Nevertheless, Thériault's (1994) contention of francophone communities' ambivalence between the nation and the minority as well as his description of their shift from a routine to a strategic identity have been helpful in understanding the associated dichotomous components of francophone identity. Just as the dichotomy of routine/strategic identities intersects both discourses, Thériault's (1994) explanation of francophones indecision in reproducing themselves as minorities or as a nation also crosses the linguistic and the cultural discourses in circulation at the AFG.

Organizers' and francophone leaders' statements, however, are often difficult to categorize as either linguistic or cultural. Indeed, their statements associated with the minority/nation dichotomy simultaneously draw from both discourses and are simply too ambiguous to categorize in one or the other. The following interview excerpt illustrates the uncertainty. The respondent on the one hand declared that culture is not important to claim francophone identity, and on the other hand, affirmed that one can become francophone if one adopts the culture of the community.

> B: Un Canadien français c'est quelqu'un qui vit au Canada, qui a une langue et une culture française dans un contexte bilingue multiculturel.
> Christine: Si j'étais de peau noire, je pourrais être Canadienne française?
> B: Absolument, j'en connais.

Quebec had started to understand their experiences in provinces where English speakers form the majority as different from those of French speakers in Quebec before the 1960s. Accordingly, they already considered that their existence as provincial minorities was relevant to their identity. For instance, Gaffield (1993) describes how struggles for education in French lead French Canadians in Ontario to conceive of their collective experiences as set in the context of minority/majority relationships with the provincial government. However, it is not until the consequences of the *États généraux de la langue française* in 1966, 1967 and 1969 that the discourse producing provincial francophone communities/identities became hegemonic (Cardinal and Lapointe, 1990; Juteau-Lee, 1982a).

> [...]
> Christine: Donc, Canadien français ne réfère pas à cette idée de culture de souche, pure-laine, de descendance des premiers Français qui sont arrivés au Québec dans les années 1700?
> B: Non. C'est vraiment... Un bon exemple c'est que j'ai un ami qui est Irlandais. Sa souche est aucunement canadienne-française. Aujourd'hui il se considère Canadien français parce qu'il a choisi de faire partie de cette communauté. Il s'est assimilé à cette culture et à cette langue parce qu'il a voulu.
> Christine: C'est quoi cette culture?
> B: La culture francophone ici en Alberta. C'est différent pour tout le monde. Pour moi, c'est de vivre en français. Je travaille, en français. Je joue en français. Je fais tout en français autant que possible. Tout ce que je peux je vais le faire en français.[70] (SJFA/Ec, 1997).

One interpretation of this respondent's answers could be that a French speaker does not have to be from French Canadian ethnic lineage to become francophone as long as he learns about and adopts French Canadian culture. This excerpt could also mean that the respondent views the community's culture as a multicultural or multiethnic *mélange* where the shared characteristic is to speak French. Or again, this excerpt could actually be framed by the linguistic discourse in the sense that the idea of "culture" refers to the practice of French language as opposed to being associated with an ethnic or cultural group. I have found it difficult to categorize this respondent's answers since he pronounced, throughout the interview, both linguistic 'truths' and other statements that could have been interpreted as cultural 'truths'. The main problem is that terms like "French Canadian" can take on different meanings and it is impossible to assess if the respondent slips from one meaning to another during the conversation. What is clearer, however, is that this respondent thought of francophone identity in national terms, and he alluded to a bilingual multicultural Canada. At the same time, he conceived of an affiliation to the minority francophone community when he spoke of "cette communauté" and of francophone culture "in Alberta".

Although statements can not always be assessed as belonging to only one discourse, it is possible to distinguish between different ideas about the nation francophones presumably belong to. While the minority group remains the Alberta

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[70] "B: A French Canadian is someone who lives in Canada, who has a French culture and language in a bilingual and multicultural context.
Christine: If I were black, could I be French Canadian?
B: Absolutely. I know some.
[...]
Christine: So, French Canadian does not refer to the idea of culture as *de souche* or *pure laine* associated to the descendants of the first French settlers who arrived in Quebec in the 1700s?
B: No. It really is... A good example is that I have a friend who is Irish. His roots are not French Canadian. Today, he considers himself a French Canadian because he chose to be part of this community. He assimilated to this culture and this language because he wanted to.
Christine: What is this culture?
B: Francophone culture here in Alberta. It is different for everyone. For me, it is to live in French. I work in French. I play in French. I do everything I possibly can in French. Everything I can, I will do it in French."

francophone community in all respondents' statements, whether cultural or linguistic, the idea of nation varies not only between the cultural and linguistic discourses, but also within these discourses. One idea of nation that AFG organizers and francophone leaders articulated, the Canadian bilingual nation, is predominantly produced through linguistic 'truths' and focuses on the fact that French is one of Canada's official languages.[71] In this perspective, the Canadian nation is composed of two presumably equal (in political status as opposed to numerically) linguistic groups. The former president of the SJFA explained, for instance, that young "francophiles" were invited to participate at the AFG because Canada is a bilingual country. Thus, he believed the Games played a role in nation building since all French speakers, "francophones" and "francophiles", could interact. This, he said, was a more appropriate focus for the AFG instead of creating an exclusive event for "francophones".[72] Canada is not about two separate languages and two separate cultures that function independently, he argued. It is about bilingualism and the AFG promoted this idea of bilingualism by recruiting youths who spoke French as a second or other language (SJFA/Ej, 1997). The insertion of a reference to culture in his argument again demonstrates how respondents shift from linguistic to cultural 'truths'. Although I attempt to unravel the 'truths' respondents articulate and try to write the analysis by providing examples associated to a particular discourse or a specific dichotomous component, many of the statements include 'truths' that cross discourses and dichotomies.

Whether they draw on one of the francophone discourses or both of them, some statements do reveal that francophone leaders and AFG organizers conceived of themselves as part of one Canadian nation that includes both English speakers and French speakers. The anticipated impact of the Games in fostering understanding between francophones and anglophones (SJFA, 1994) rests on such an assumption. The concern for building a bilingual Canada is closely associated with Alberta francophones' preoccupation with national unity. Indeed, when FJA created the AFG, it anticipated the Games would help promote national unity (FJA, 1991, 1992c, 1993b, n.d.). In its strategic planning exercise, FJA leaders again identified the promotion of national unity as an important objective of their association (FJA, 1997c). While the idea of national unity does not appear in SJFA official documents, AFG organizers--most of whom had been or still are connected to FJA--were still preoccupied with the cohesion of Canada as a nation.

> C'est pour ça que moi, j'ai dis que je suis Canadien français. Dans le sens que moi, qu'est-ce qui m'a beaucoup frappé des dernières années, c'est le référendum où les jeunes francophone au Québec ne se considèrent pas Canadiens français. Ils sont Québécois. Point. Ils ne sont même pas Canadiens. Je ne peux même pas comprendre ça. Pour moi, ça me dit: "On a des problèmes." Et je comprends les gens, comme, il faut qu'on se rattache en quelque part. Je comprends ça.

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[71] Although, as Cardinal (1997) has argued, a constitutionally recognized linguistic group is not necessarily the same thing as a national group.

[72] He did specify however that this approach of staging the AFG did not preclude that in some cases, namely the establishment of francophone schools, it was more appropriate to institute environments for francophones only.

> Avant, je disais toujours que j'étais Franco-Albertain. Je le suis encore. Je vais toujours l'être. Mais avant tout je suis Canadien français. Je ne suis pas différent qu'un Québécois, qu'un Acadien, qu'un Franco-Manitobain. On a nos différences régionales, mais on est tous pareil. [...] À cause de la langue, à cause de notre citoyenneté.[73] (SJFA/Ec, 1997).

While it is clear is that francophone leaders and AFG organizers were preoccupied with promoting a Canadian nationhood, the specific version of this nationhood they supported is unclear. It can either be a Canadian bilingual nation produced in the linguistic discourse as demonstrated above, or a bi-national Canada such as produced by the ACFA through its participation in the debates on national unity (Denis, 1999).

> Depuis les États généraux du Canada français en 1964 ou 1969 au Québec, au moment où les Québécois ont décidé qu'ils n'étaient plus des Canadiens français--qu'ils étaient des Québécois--il y a eu par un mouvement de refus de ça, des naissances d'identités distinctes. C'est à ce moment qu'on est devenu si tu veux un peu des Franco-Albertains. Pendant un bon bout de temps, on a conservé cette notion de l'identité francophone de l'Alberta. Maintenant, on a vu surtout depuis sur un plan politique, l'ACFA n'a jamais laissé tomber le vocable "canadien-français" parce qu'on a toujours considéré que il n'y avait pas deux Canada. Il n'y avait pas un Canada français au Québec et un Canada anglais hors-Québec. Que nous autres on est des Canadiens français au même titre que les Québécois dans une certaine mesure. On fait partie de la même famille. On peut se définir individuellement, ou associativement de façon différente, mais on est tous des Canadiens français. La famille canadienne-française part donc de Saint-Jean, Terre-Neuve jusqu'à Vancouver puis jusqu'au Yukon et les Territoires du Nord-Ouest. C'est pour ça qu'on retient le vocable "canadienne-française". Et que même on a vu au cours des quatre, cinq dernières années, après Meech, le vocable "canadien-français" revenir à la mode. (...) Si on est des Canadiens français ça va donner l'image aussi que d'un océan à l'autre il y a une espèce d'unité. Nous autres on n'a jamais laissé tomber le vocable "canadien-français". Puis si on regarde les mémoires de l'ACFA sous différentes commissions on va se rendre compte de ça. À partir de la commission Bélanger-Campeau, on voit une stratégie qui s'est établie. Mais l'ACFA ça toujours été aussi, si on parle de la politique, sur le plan nationale, une association très très très

[73] "That is why I say that I am a French Canadian. In the sense that what greatly marked me these last few years was the referendum where young francophones in Quebec do not consider themselves French Canadians. They are Quebecers. Period. They are not even Canadians. I just can not understand that. That tells me: "We have problems." And I understand the people, like, we have to be connected somewhere. I understand that. I used to always say that I am a Franco-Albertan. I still am. I will always be. But first and foremost I am a French Canadian. I am no different than a Quebecer, an Acadian, a Franco-Manitoban. We have our regional differences, but we are all the same [...] Because of the language, because of our citizenship."

> fédéraliste. Alors c'est la raison pour laquelle il y a toujours eu cet élément là qui a persisté au cours des années.[74] (ACFA/Ea, 1997).

This bi-national Canada can be viewed as linguistic or cultural. Canada, in the linguistic discourse, would thus include a pan-Canadian French-speaking nation and a pan-Canadian English-speaking nation. The bi-national Canada can also point to the historical idea of a two founding nations, one of which is the French Canadian nation understood in the cultural/ethnicist sense of the term. Interviews with francophone leaders and AFG organizers show their ambivalence between reproducing themselves as a linguistic pan-Canadian francophone nation or as part of a cultural pan-Canadian French Canadian nation.

The nationhood of which AFG organizers spoke could also be the pan-Canadian French-speaking nation *Vision d'avenir* constructed. The *Vision d'avenir* final report acknowledged the existence of different francophone communities, yet it assumed that they could all be included in a pan-Canadian nation (1992, p. 92).

> Dans la mesure où l'on parle du maintien de la culture française au Canada, la Commission croit à la nécessité de renforcer les liens entre les communautés françaises de l'Acadie à l'Ouest. Même si les tendances des dernières années ont mis l'accent sur des identités provinciales distinctes, il n'en demeure pas moins que cela influence le développement. Selon nous, il est possible et souhaitable d'adopter un comportement d'entité communautaire nationale. (...)
> Il s'agit de développer une conscience et un comportement d'entité communautaire pancanadienne susceptibles de fortifier l'ensemble des communautés.[75]

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[74] "Since the *États généraux du Canada français* in 1964 or 1969 in Quebec, at the time when Quebecers decided that they were no longer French Canadians--they were Quebecers--there has been, through a movement to reject this, the birth of distinct identities. It is at that time that we became, if you want, Franco-Albertans. For quite a while, we kept that notion of francophone identity in Alberta. Now, we have seen, mostly on the political scene, the ACFA has never let go of the "French Canadian" terminology because we have always considered that there are not two Canadas. There is not one French Canada in Quebec and an English Canada outside Quebec. In a way, we are French Canadians in the same way Quebecers are French Canadians. We are all part of the same family. We can define ourselves individually, or through our associations, in different ways, but we are all French Canadians. The French Canadian family then goes from St. John's, Newfoundland to Vancouver up to the Yukon and the Northwest Territories. That is why we keep the term "French Canadian". We have even noticed in the last four, five years, after Meech, the term "French Canadian" become fashionable again. (...) If we are French Canadians, it will also give the impression that from one ocean to the other there is some sort of unity. We never let go of the term "French Canadian". And if we look at the ACFA briefs submitted to different commissions we will notice that. Since the Bélanger-Campeau commission, we see that a strategy was established. But the ACFA has always been, if we talk politically, on the national scene, a very very very federalist association. So this is the reason why there has always been this element that persisted through the years."

[75] "As long as we are referring to the maintenance of French culture in Canada, the Commission believes in the necessity to reinforce the links between French communities from Acadia to the West. Even if the tendency during the last few years has been to emphasize distinct provincial identities, it remains that it affects the development. According to us, it is possible and desirable to adopt a conduct of a national community. (...)

Just as the expression "French Canadian" may have different meanings, the term "French Canada" also takes on definitions that can be produced in either the cultural or the linguistic discourse. The next excerpt from the *Vision d'avenir* final report shows that French speakers of various cultural origins are included in its conception of "French Canada", but it could stem from either discourses.

> La Commission croit aussi qu'il faut favoriser un comportement de communauté pancanadienne et développer un sentiment d'identité et d'appartenance au Canada français dans son ensemble. (...) Cette image doit être soutenue par des exemples réels et concrets d'entraide des différentes communautés et d'inclusion des Néo-Canadiens.[76] (FJCF, 1992, p. 93).

Whichever discourse is produced and whatever idea of nation is articulated, this construction of francophones as belonging to a nation is meant to include Quebecers in this pan-Canadian nationhood.

> Comme en anglais, je vais dire: "*I'm French Canadian*" plus que francophone. Le terme francophone est plus général je pense. Le terme Canadien français souvent pour moi va être un énoncé politique en même temps, dans le sens que tout ce qui est francophone au Canada est Canadien, incluant le Québec. Alors, c'est mon énoncé plus politique à ce moment. N'en déplaise à certains.[77] (ACFA/Eb, 1997).

On the one hand francophones leaders and AFG organizers pronounced performative 'truths' to contain Quebec in their view of nationhood, but on the other hand they also insisted on being recognized as different from Quebecers. They nonetheless wanted to be acknowledged as legitimate francophones within this nation.

> La façon que je verrais ça c'est que la culture canadienne-française inclut la musique, le théâtre de langue française autant albertaine, que québécoise que du Nouveau-Brunswick. Et j'aimerais bien ça que ça soit de l'autre façon aussi que au Québec, que la culture canadienne-

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This means developing a conscious and a conduct of pan-Canadian community susceptible to fortify the communities as a whole."

[76] "The Commission also believes that it is important to promote a conduct of pan-Canadian community and to develop a sense of identification and belonging to French Canada as a whole. (...) This view must be supported by real and concrete examples of mutual aid between the different communities and inclusion of new Canadians."

[77] "Like in English I will say: "I'm French Canadian" more than francophone. The term francophone is,I think, more general. The term French Canadian is for me, at the same time, often a political statement in the sense that what ever is francophone in Canada is Canadian, including Quebec. So, it is more of a political statement. Whether it bothers some people or not."

> française ce serait Crystal Plamondon autant que ... [78] (SJFA/Eb, 1996).

But their ideas of a bilingual Canadian nation or a French-speaking pan-Canadian nation or a bi-national Canada or a French Canadian nation are threatened by the Quebec sovereignist movement as well as by a competing and more dominant version of Canadian nationalism which poses Canada, outside Quebec, as English-speaking (Dallaire and Denis, 1999; Denis, 1993, 1999). Therefore, these respondents find themselves in a position where they have to, on the one hand, defend their vision of a Canadian nation that recognizes them and, on the other hand, defend their survival as a minority francophone community in Alberta.

While francophone leaders and AFG organizers did not all articulate the same ideas about the nation with which the francophone is affiliated, the minority community they spoke of was constant. In fact, they all spoke of the Alberta francophone community and its minority status in Alberta as opposed to a pan-Canadian French-speaking minority. What varies from one statement to another is the construction of this minority as a linguistic or a cultural community. Notwithstanding this shift from one discourse to another, respondents did insist on the experience of living as a minority as relevant to the formation of francophone identity in Alberta.

> Bien moi, je préfère le terme francophone. Les Franco-Albertains. Mais je pense qu'il y a certainement une différence par exemple... Bien une différence est-ce que on sous-entend une différence entre Franco-Albertain et francophone? *Okay* oui, il y a une différence. Je pense que Franco-Albertain... Il y a une différence parce que ça retourne au vécu. C'est que l'Alberta c'est dans l'ouest, la situation des francophones dans l'ouest c'est pas facile. Et puis, je veux dire on a un vécu qui est complètement différent d'un francophone qui viendrait du Québec par exemple. Le vécu est différent. Je pense que c'est un fait. On vit certainement une différente situation, mais je pense que ça l'est une différence. Un Franco-Albertain... Puis aussi, avec Franco-Albertain j'englobe aussi par exemple, Fransaskois ou Franco-Manitobain. Ils ont chacun leur vécu particulier évidement parce que c'est par province. Mais il y a une différence entre un Franco-Albertain, un Fransaskois, un Franco-Manitobain et un francophone. Mais c'est difficile parce que pour moi, je pense qu'un Franco-Albertain par exemple, c'est plus particulier pour dire bon bien, c'est quelqu'un, un francophone qui a vécu en Alberta dans une situation dans l'ouest dans une situation qui est minoritaire. C'est encore un fait, malheureusement c'est toujours le vieux disque. C'est un fait mais eux sont englobés par le terme francophone. Alors pour moi, le terme

[78] "The way I see it, French Canadian culture includes French language music and theater from Alberta as much as from Quebec or New Brunswick. And I would like it if it were the other way around also, that in Quebec, French Canadian culture would be Crystal Plamondon as much as ..."

> francophone est beaucoup plus large et englobe tout, par exemple Fransaskois, Franco-Manitobain, Franco-Albertain.[79] (FJA/Ec, 1997).

Another organizer characterized the community as Franco-Albertan, effectively marking its minority status. When I asked her who was a Franco-Albertan she answered:

> Bien, c'est soit que tu es né en Alberta ou ça fait... Moi je dirais, quelqu'un que ça fait dix ans qu'il habite ici est probablement Franco-Albertain. De façon, ça fait assez longtemps que tu vis en Alberta pour voir, ou pour comprendre les différences. Et puis pour voir qu'est-ce que tu dois faire. Et puis comment fort tu vas travailler pour garder ta langue ici. Je veux dire, quand tu arrives du Québec, généralisation mais, souvent, les gens ne savent pas. (...) Ça fait assez longtemps que tu restes dans le milieu, je pense que tu peux comprendre. Et tu peux voir que ce n'est pas évident de parler en français ici. Et, jusqu'à un certain point, je pense, les gens respectent et puis ils peuvent apprécier comment fort que les Franco-Albertains qui sont nés ici, ont travaillé afin de garder leur langue, tout ça. Et même... Comme il y en a beaucoup comme qui poussent pour les droits et qui veulent maintenir le fait français et tout ça. Et ils réalisent que ici c'est différent du Québec. Et puis... Comme je sais pas moi, je dis dix ans comme ça là, mais...[80] (SJFA/Ef, 1996).

This difference in life experience is the struggle to live in French in an English-speaking environment. Respondents born and raised in Alberta, or in the West, maintained that francophone identity is marked by the majority-minority relationships that frame

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[79] "I prefer the term francophone. The Franco-Albertans. But I think there certainly is a difference, for example... Well, a difference, do we mean a difference between a Franco-Albertan and a francophone?. Okay, yes there is a difference. I think that Franco-Albertan... There is a difference because it goes back to experience. Alberta is in the West and in the West the situation of francophones is not easy. And, I mean that we have an experience that is completely different than that of a francophone that, for example, comes from Quebec. The experience is different. I think that is a fact. We certainly live a different situation, but I think that it is a difference. A Franco-Albertan... And with Franco-Albertan, I also include, for example, *Fransaskois* or Franco-Manitoban. They each have their particular experience obviously because it is by province. But there is a difference between a Franco-Albertan, a *Fransaskois*, a Franco-Manitoban and a francophone. But it is difficult because I think that a Franco-Albertan, for example, it is more specific to say someone, a francophone that has lived in Alberta in a minority situation. That is still a fact, unfortunately, a broken record. It is a fact but they are included in the term francophone. So, for me, the term francophone is much larger and includes everything, such as *Fransaskois*, Franco-Manitoban, Franco-Albertan."

[80] "Well, you either were born in Alberta or you have been here for ... I would say that someone who has lived here for ten years is probably Franco-Albertan. You have lived in Alberta long enough to see, to understand the differences. And to see what you need to do. And how hard you will work to keep your language here. I mean, when you arrive from Quebec, a generalization, but often, people do not know. (...) You have lived in the environment long enough, I think that you can understand. And you can see that speaking French here is not all that obvious. And, up to a certain point, I think that people respect and they can appreciate how hard Franco-Albertans that were born here have worked to keep their language and everything. An even... There are many that push for rights and want to maintain the French presence and all that. They realize that it is different here than Quebec. And... Who knows, I say ten years today but..."

francophone practices in Alberta, from their ongoing interaction with English speakers to the way they speak French and their constant concern with community development. Thus, the 'us' refers to French speakers who have shared in the historical experience of living as a minority. According to some respondents, integration of 'outsiders', whether they are French speakers from Quebec or from outside Canada, into the community is thus contingent on their acknowledgment of the minority character of Alberta francophones. Francophones in Alberta may perceive themselves as part of a nation, but they still view themselves as different from the Quebecers, Franco-Ontarians, Acadians and other francophones as a result of their specific Albertan experience.

> Christine: Tu m'as dis que tu es Franco-Albertain. Qu'est-ce que ça veut dire?
> D: Francophone de l'Alberta. La raison que je met l'emphase sur albertain et non juste francophone, c'est que il y a beaucoup de gens, comme par exemple au Québec, qui ne réalisent pas qu'il y a d'autres francophones à l'extérieur. Alors, en se distinguant d'être francophone à priori ensuite albertain, ils peuvent réaliser que oui il y a des francophones à l'extérieur du Québec.[81] (SJFA/Ec, 1997).

Respondents articulated the minority identity and national identity as compatible and as two undeniable components of francophoneness, but which one do they emphasize when they think of their own identity? Questionnaire answers of both organizers and volunteers for the 1996 and 1997 AFG demonstrate that when faced with the choice, they prioritized their national identity over their provincial/minority affiliation.[82] Indeed, Table 1[83] shows that 40% of the organizers stated that they were French Canadians thus claiming a national identity. Only one fifth of the organizers emphasized their affiliation to a francophone minority by choosing Franco-Albertan or *Fransaskois* as terms that identified them the best. Table 2[84] reveals that approximately half of the volunteers also chose to represent their francophone nationhood by choosing French Canadian or Bilingual Canadian (43.5% in 1996; 53.8% in 1997) while less than a fifth claimed the Franco-Albertan and *Fransaskois* identity.

These questionnaire answers demonstrate that Alberta French speakers actively involved in the AFG and in the francophone institutional network prefer to take on a national rather than a minority identity. However, it is unclear if their idea of nationhood draws on the cultural or the linguistic discourse. Interviews with francophone leaders and AFG organizers generated various competing definitions for

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[81] "Christine: You told me you are a Franco-Albertan. What does it mean?
D: Francophone from Alberta. The reason I emphasize Alberta and not just francophone is that many people, like in Quebec, do not realize that there are other francophones outside Quebec. So, in distinguishing myself first as a francophone, and then as Albertan, they can recognize that yes there are francophones outside Quebec."

[82] Example of identity labels provided in the identity question varied from 1996 and 1997 (see section 3.2.1.4 in Chapter Three; also see Appendixes 9, 10 and 12). The results provided here only report the answers that most clearly point to the minority and the national dimensions of identity related to the francophone community in Alberta. Thus Quebecer, Acadian and Canadian identity are not included in this analysis of chosen national vs. minority francophone identities.

[83] See Chapter Four, section 4.2.1.1

[84] See Chapter Four, section 4.2.1.2

the identity labels that surface in the community and at the Games. The expression "French Canadian", among others, takes on different meanings. Some respondents claimed that their use of the term refers to French-speaking Canadian citizens--as opposed to its historical meaning associated to French Canadian ethnicity. For instance, when I asked an ACFA leader what meaning the association gave to "French Canadian" she answered:

> On veut dire Canadien d'expression française. Je ne veux pas tomber dans une polémique, mais on n'est pas de la race canadienne-française de Lionel-Groulx. On dit qu'on est des Canadiens d'expression française. Ce qui fait que pour être Canadien d'expression française un immigrant reçu vivant au Canada... C'est un peu ça. C'est une définition d'ailleurs au sujet de laquelle on s'est posé des questions quand on a fait notre politique sur le multiculturalisme, à savoir quand est-ce qu'on devient Franco-Albertain? (...) À partir du moment où les gens choisissent de vivre en français en Alberta, parce que nous c'est notre territoire l'Alberta, ils sont des Canadiens français.[83] (ACFA/Ea, 1997).

This example again shows that the minority and national components are articulated as complementary components of francophone identity. Most respondents conceived of francophones as being both, part of a minority group and part of a nation. However, nationhood was clearly privileged over provincialized minority identities in questionnaire answers at a ratio of over 2:1 for organizers and more than 3:1 for volunteers.

According to these questionnaire results, Alberta French speakers involved in community building choose a national instead of a francophone identity specific to Alberta. Conversely, Juteau-Lee and Lapointe (1983) obtained opposite results. In a study of francophone identity in Ontario between 1974 and 1976, they found that "[t]hose involved in social change called themselves Franco-Ontarians; those who defined their ethnic group membership mainly in terms of cultural symbols preferred the term French Canadian" (p. 182). Juteau-Lee and Lapointe (1983) explained that younger French speakers were less attached to traditional culture and instead defined themselves according to provincialized institutions by taking on the label "Franco-Ontarian". The move from a predominantly French Canadian identity to a Franco-Ontarian identity would presumably have been a consequence of the francophone struggles to receive services in French and to establish a higher degree of institutional completeness for greater autonomy. According to Juteau-Lee and Lapointe (1983), this political action resulted in a greater sense of Ontario as their territorial basis for identification. Their research thus points to the changes in the routine/strategic and minority/national dichotomies of francophone cultural identity in Ontario.

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[83] "We mean a French-speaking Canadian. I do not want to fall into a polemic, but we are not the French Canadian race Lionel Groulx referred to. We say that we are French-speaking Canadians. That means that to be a French-speaking Canadian, a landed immigrant living in Canada... It is kind of like that. It is a definition that brought on many questions when we formulated our multiculturalism policy, that is when does one become a Franco-Albertan. (...) From the moment that people decide to live in French in Alberta, because Alberta is our territory, they are French Canadians."

The contradictory results that I have obtained may point to the changing Canadian political context and to the different circumstances of Alberta francophones. Some of the French speakers strategically involved in francophone political action in Alberta chose a national identification as a result of their preoccupation with Canadian national unity. During the 1970s, francophones in Ontario were more concerned with building their own francophone institutions and with attempting to establish a distinct sense of collective identity (Juteau-Lee and Lapointe, 1983). Since then, there have been two referendums for Quebec independence, the exclusion of Quebec in the deal to repatriate the Canadian constitution and two failed attempts at constitutional reform. The national question has been an important issue on the political scene over the last twenty years (Denis, 1999). It is then not surprising that as members of a francophone minority highly dependent on the federal government and basically ignored by its own provincial government (whereas the Ontario government has been more positive towards its francophone minority), francophone leaders and AFG organizers were preoccupied with national unity. Some interview respondents do identify with the historical French Canadian cultural nation described by Juteau-Lee and Lapointe (1983) in their promotion of a bi-national Canada. Yet, others identify with a bilingual Canadian nation produced in the linguistic discourse. Thus, the popularity of the French Canadian label does not merely point to the continuing dominance of the cultural identity. It reflects the emergence of the linguistic discourse and the redefinition of francophone identities as well as the current national political concerns overlapping Alberta francophones' continuing struggles to consolidate their own institutional completeness.

In the context of the Alberta Francophone Games, the national vs. minority identity dilemma is particularly played out through the competing aspirations of the event. As we have seen, these Games were instigated as a component of the larger francophone youth sport project of the *Fédération de la jeunesse canadienne-française* (FJCF): the institution of the "Jeux de la francophonie canadienne." These pan-Canadian francophone youth games, it is presumed, would add excitement to community life, instill francophone pride and develop solidarity, thus contributing to community development by attracting and retaining younger generations (FJCF, 1992). While the Alberta Francophones Games stem from and contribute to this larger project to foster a sense of belonging to a national/pan-Canadian francophone community, they are at the same time constructed as a provincial event aimed at strengthening the minority francophone identity in Alberta.[86]

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[86] An international component also surfaces in the context of the AFG and in the way a few respondents think of their francophone identity. The FJCF and SJFA hope that a francophone delegation chosen from athletes participating in the pan-Canadian francophone games will represent Canada at the international *Jeux de la francophonie* (however unrealistic this may be!). In fact, the Steering Committee for the 1996 AFG explained that with the establishment of the Alberta Francophone Games and the Western Francophone Games "[t]he next logical step is to organize the Canadian Francophone Games, which are already in the midst of talks. With this in place, Canada will have the opportunity to send a French speaking delegation to the International Francophone Games (*Jeux de la francophonie*) which already exists." (SJFA, 1996i, p. 4). Interviews with francophone leaders and organizers also point to an international component to their understanding of francophone identity. An AMFA representative, for example, explained that she views herself as a francophone, but not in a Canadian perspective, rather in an international perspective (AMFA/E, 1997). In addition, one AFG organizer's drawing/statement of the community suggests his affiliation to a global *francophonie* (FJA/Ee, 1997). While the idea of an

As the objectives of the Games enact the dilemma between producing a national vs. a minority francophone identity, the sources of funding and other assistance also illustrate the parallel pursuit of both national and provincial ends. On the one hand, organizers sought and obtained funds, services and volunteer work from associations, businesses, school boards and individuals who specifically wish to contribute to the development of the francophone community in Alberta. On the other hand, the federal Heritage Department also contributes funds through its programs associated with the *Entente Canada-communauté Alberta*. In this case, the federal provision of resources is a means to raise the profile and help sustain French speaking communities throughout the country to create a pan-Canadian francophone entity.

5.3 Discursive instability of the 'francophone'

The concurrent circulation of linguistic and cultural discourses and their dichotomies in the Alberta francophone community results in a discursive struggle over the contested cultural 'truth' about francophoneness. For example, in a group interview I conducted with FJA leaders, both linguistic and cultural 'truths' were asserted by different respondents which lead them to disagree with one another.

> X: Qu'est-ce qui fait qu'on est francophone? C'est où nos racines sont. Moi, mes racines je sais où elles sont. Elles sont à Bonnyville, elles sont à Fort Kent. Elles sont dans une famille que ça fait des générations qu'elle parle en français. C'est des familles qui sont venues de la France il y a 300 ans. Et ça fait 300 ans qu'elles sont ici au Canada. C'est ça qui fait que je suis francophone. C'est ma tradition.
> Christine: Si ma mère est anglophone et mon père est francophone, je suis francophone ou francophile?
> X: Ça dépend ce que tu choisis d'être parce que tu as des racines des deux bords. Tu peux même choisir. Tu peux ignorer tes racines. Tu peux dire "Moi, je ne suis pas cette histoire. Moi je vas être l'histoire de quelqu'un d'autre". Mais n'empêche que ça va être l'histoire de quelqu'un d'autre. Ça ne va pas être ton histoire à toi.
> O: Je pense que tu peux choisir. Ma mère est anglophone. Chez nous on considère qu'elle est francophone maintenant. Comme, pourquoi pas? On a été élevé en français. Je n'ai jamais parlé en anglais à ma mère. (...)
> A: Je pense que le mot clé c'est l'adoption. On est né avec un certain *make-up*, voici ce qu'on est selon notre arbre généalogique. Ensuite, on a le choix. On peut adopter une autre culture ou non. Puis moi je pense qu'il y a des francophiles qui rejoignent beaucoup les francophones dans le sens qu'ils choissent de vivre en français. Donc, leur style de vie, leur façon de vivre est exactement comme la nôtre. (...)

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international francophone identity and affiliation to community that spreads beyond the Canadian borders did emerge, this international component was sparsely articulated.

F: Moi, j'ai bien de la misère avec l'aspect d'une histoire francophone ou culture francophone parce que je trouve... Pour moi c'est une question de juste ... Ce n'est pas un gros *stand* philosophique mais, moi quand je parle de quelqu'un qui est francophone, c'est quelqu'un qui parle en français. Et puis, dire qu'il y a une culture rattachée à ça, moi, je questionne ça. Je pense que tu peux te considèrer différent *like* d'une francophonie. Mais je ne pense pas que tu peux dire que tu viens d'une culture francophone parce que je pense que c'est tellement vaste, comme tu ne peux pas juste... C'est pour ça que dans ma tête, quand j'entends le mot "francophone", je pense juste "parlant français".
Christine: Donc, tu peux être francophone même si ce n'est pas la première langue que tu as appris.
F: Oui, moi je pense que oui.
O: Comme par rapport à ce que X dit, je ne suis pas d'accord que c'est d'où tu viens. Je pense que ça n'a pas vraiment rapport. Personnellement.
X: Moi, c'est ça que je pense.
O: C'est correct.[87] (FJA/Ee, 1997).

The issue is further complicated by the fact that the same speakers, whether individuals or associations, articulate both discourses. Indeed, most francophone leaders and AFG organizers simultaneously enunciate linguistic and cultural 'truths'. And the ACFA, FJA

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[87] "X: What makes us francophones? It is where our roots are. I know where my roots are. They are in Bonnyville, they are in Fort Kent. They are in a family that has been speaking French for generations. They are families that came from France 300 years ago. And they have been in Canada for 300 years. That is what makes me a francophone. It is my tradition.
Christine: If my mother is anglophone and my father is francophone, am I a francophone or a francophile?
X: It depends what you choose to be because you have both roots. You can choose. You can ignore your roots. You can say: 'I am not that history. I will be someone else's history.' But it will still be someone else's history. It will not be your own history.
O: I think you can choose. My mother is anglophone. At home, we consider her francophone now. Like, why not? We have been raised in French. I never spoke English with my mother. (...)
A: I think the key word is adoption. We are born with a certain make-up, here is what we are according to our genealogy. Then, we have the choice. We can adopt another culture or not. And I think that there are francophiles that come close to being francophones in the sense that they choose to live in French. So, their life style, the way they live their life is exactly like ours. (...)
F: I have a hard time accepting the idea of francophone history or francophone culture because I find... For me, it is only a question of... It is not a big philosophical stand but when I talk about someone as a francophone, it is someone who speaks French. And to say that there is a culture linked to that, I question that. I think that you can consider yourself different than a *francophonie*. But, I do not think you can say you come from a francophone culture because it is so broad, you can not just say... That is why, in my own thinking, when I hear the word 'francophone', I think 'French-speaking'.
Christine: So, you can be a francophone even though it is not the first language you learned?
F: Yes, I think so.
O: In relation to what X says, I do not agree that it is where you come from. I think that it really does not matter. Personally.
X: That is what I think.
O: That is okay.
(FJA/Ee, 1997)

and SJFA documentation that I consulted also explicitly expresses both francophone discourses.

While the francophone associations that I studied and the individuals who revolved around them spoke both discourses, they did not share the same subject positions. Only those French speakers who 'fit' under both the linguistic and the cultural definition spoke as 'francophones', whatever discursive 'truths' they articulated. ACFA, FJA, FPFA leaders and most AFG organizers are considered legitimate francophones regardless of the definition used. Whether they articulated cultural or linguistic 'truths', they referred to we "francophones", "Franco-Albertans" or "French Canadians" and they widely used the term "community" to refer to this 'we'. Most of these individuals recognized that the community is a contested concept that can point to a cultural group as opposed to a linguistic group. But, in any case, they invariably expressed their membership in this community.

Conversely, leaders of other francophone associations spoke from the margins. They did not 'fit' in the cultural production of the francophone. AMFA, *Alliance française*, *Société acadienne* and *Société pour une école publique* leaders are not all part of "we-the-community" produced in the cultural discourse. When spoken by these marginal French speakers, the concept 'community' refers to the cultural construction of francophoneness where "il faut être blanc, catholique, Franco-Albertain" to be deemed a member of the French-speaking collectivity (AMFA/E, 1997). In this context, 'community' thus refers to 'them' the "French Canadians" or the "Franco-Albertans", who are automatically construed as Catholic and white. Aside from the *Alliance française*, these francophone associations orbiting at the periphery of the community were created to contest the cultural criterion that marginalizes their constituencies. They seek to represent and give a voice to those French speakers omitted in the cultural definition of community. The AMFA, for example, clearly exists to act "contre le racisme, oser dire, oser paraître"[88] as legitimate francophones (AMFA/E, 1997). AMFA representatives argued that the association exposes the racial and cultural differences among French speakers and works to ensure that all French speakers are acknowledged and included in the French-speaking collectivity.

Unlike ACFA, FJA, FPFA leaders and AFG organizers, many of the representatives of the marginal associations--those organizations outside the ACFA cluster--did not enunciate the linguistic version of 'community'. Since the expression "community" excludes them in the cultural discourse, AMFA and *Alliance française* leaders refer to the "francophonie" in their construction of a linguistic francophone collectivity. "Francophonie" intentionally serves to include a larger range of French speakers. The Acadian leader quoted in Chapter Four adopts a different strategy to mark the difference between the larger French-speaking collectivity, and the more exclusive cultural construction of community. Instead of speaking of the "francophonie", he does use the linguistic concept of community to refer to all French speakers. But he talks of the cultural version of the concept as the "official" community. This distinction points to the same issue that the use of the term *francophonie* underlines: the need to distinguish between the cultural francophone community that excludes non-French Canadian French speakers and the linguistic one that includes them. Leaders of the marginal associations thus produced a common version of the linguistic discourse: they articulated linguistic

[88] "against racism, to dare speak, to dare appear"

'truths' to open the borders of the community so that they can become part of the 'us' francophones.

AFG organizers seldom utilized the term "francophonie". In SJFA documentation and in interviews they generally referred to the "community" to speak about the francophone collectivity, whether they articulated the linguistic discourse or the cultural discourse. All organizers could be included in the linguistic construction of community, and apart from perhaps two or three individuals, they also 'fit' in the cultural version of francophoneness as well. In addition, almost all of them had French as a mother tongue. As a result of their production as 'francophones' in both discourses, organizers articulated both linguistic and cultural 'truths' about francophoneness throughout the process of staging the AFG. Just as the concurrent circulation of these discourses of identity generates competing 'truths' in the community, it produces contested ideas about francophone identity and community at the Games. In vacillating between linguistic and cultural 'truths', organizers inevitably reproduced an ambiguous francophone.

Thus, at the AFG, the francophone subject is produced as discursively unstable. Despite the rule that "if you speak French, you're in", statements in documents, at the AFG and during interviews, re-affirm the importance of culture and heritage in the construction of the community and in affiliating with this community. For instance, the program for the third AFG underlines the privileged status given to culture:

> Comme l'a dit si bien notre président, [...]: **"la raison d'être des Jeux est la culture!"**[89] Plusieurs activités seront organisées afin de promouvoir la culture canadienne-française et de créer une atmostphère de fierté envers notre héritage.[90] (SJFA, 1995b, p. 4).

Moreover, the program of the fifth edition of the Games illustrates the prevailing assumption that all AFG participants share this celebrated culture: "Profitez des 5es J.F.A. (...) pour vivre votre culture et votre langue française."[91] (SJFA, 1997a, p. 3). Despite organizers' efforts at adopting linguistic definitions in the statutes and regulations of SJFA and promotional documents, they have not been successful in maintaining a linguistic approach in their motivational statements in official AFG programs.

While there are ample references to culture in documents and interviews, there really is no attempt to define it, nor is there a systematic approach to promoting it at the Games. Organizers recognized the instability of their views on culture. Yet, they did not follow through with their plan to formulate an official SJFA cultural policy. Despite not devising a well thought-out strategy to actualize this presumed shared culture, organizers did not take the opposite approach either. In fact, the role of culture in producing francophoneness was never questioned. What is indeed quite interesting in their reaction to my interview questions about culture at the AFG is that they felt the need to define culture and better promote it. Not one of them asked: "Should we indeed promote culture at the AFG?" The idea of focusing strictly on French language was never

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[89] In bold in the original.

[90] "Our president [...] has put it well: **"the raison d'être of the Games is culture!"** Many activities will be organized in order to promote French-Canadian culture and to create an ambiance of pride towards our heritage."

[91] My underlining; "Take advantage of the Games (...) to live your culture and French language."

considered. Culture is understood as the crux of francophone identity and community in the cultural discourse. Organizers entrenched in this perspective took its central role in francophoneness for granted and could not question it, despite my challenges and even though they did at times articulate linguistic 'truths'.

Other examples also demonstrate the effects on the staging of the Games of the encounter between the linguistic and the cultural discourses. In fact, the debate among organizers concerning the celebration of a religious or spiritual celebration during the fifth AFG connotes the issues that arise from the concurrent articulation of cultural and linguistic 'truths'. Catholicism is constructed as an important element of French Canadian culture, and including a mass into the program of francophone gatherings is a firmly rooted ACFA tradition, namely at the *Fête franco-albertaine* or the *Rond Point* (ACFA, 1995; Dallaire, 1996-1997). Indeed, as mentioned earlier, the ACFA was long run by members of the clergy and, in the francophone community of Alberta as in other francophone communities, Catholicism was historically linked to French Canadian culture. For example, when the ACFA polled its members in 1961, some of the questions concerned the adoption of a new approach that would no longer associate the defense of French language and culture with Catholicism. The option of disassociating religion and culture (French language being a crucial part of this culture) was rejected by 88% of the respondents. Some of their comments were:

> "La foi catholique fait partie de notre héritage culturel et national."
> "La culture française sans religion ne peut pas exister, ou si elle existe, ce n'est que d'une façon très appauvrie."[92] (ACFA, 1961).[93]

For the majority of respondents to this ACFA questionnaire, Catholicism was inexorably linked to culture and the fight for French language rights could not be separated from religion.

Catholic religion is still today a marker of French Canadian ethnicity in Alberta and an important dimension of francophone identity according to some respondents. For instance, one of my interview respondents declared that francophones in Alberta have remained practicing Catholics (she was referring to French speakers of French Canadian ethnicity and comparing their attachment to religion as opposed to those in Quebec who have, in large part, removed themselves from the Church). She also maintained that an important part of the community can be seen at mass on Sunday mornings (ACFA/Ed, 1997). The insistence on establishing Catholic schools when francophone schools were allowed in Alberta is another indication of the importance of religion as a characteristic of the French-speaking population.

The Catholic character of cultural francophoneness was sufficiently relevant for the founders and organizers of the Games to hold a liturgical celebration during the first and second AFG (FJA, 1992b; FJA, 1993a).[94] For the third Games, the Catholic ceremony

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[92] "Catholic faith is part of our cultural and national heritage"
"French culture without religion can not exist, or if it exists, it can only be in an impoverished form"

[93] I found this information in ACFA files, but was not able to determine the number of respondents. The document I consulted presented the compiled results of this survey.

[94] The Roman Catholic Church was historically involved in providing French language leisure and sporting activities through francophone parish organizations such as the *Chevaliers de Colombs* (the francophone counterpart of the Knights of Columbus) for purposes similar to those of the AFG. Despite this earlier

was replaced with a "session de réflexion" (SJFA, 1995b) while the program of the fourth edition of the Games did not include any religious or spiritual celebration. However, the idea of holding a religious ceremony arose again during the preparations for the Falher AFG and generated a debate among organizers during a General Council meeting (Dallaire, 1996-1997). Organizers were proposing to hold what they called an ecumenical ceremony to answer parental demands that participants attend a Catholic mass during the weekend. One of the rare non-French Canadian organizers argued against this ceremony. She argued for the respect of the religious choices of all francophones, even if non-French Canadians represented a minority at the AFG or in the community, rather than imposing Catholic/Christian beliefs on all participants, volunteers and organizers. The ensuing debate concerned the assumption that the French speaker is French Canadian, therefore Catholic. In opposing the celebration of an ecumenical, liturgical or any form of religious ceremony, the non-French Canadian organizer was claiming the diversity of the customs and cultural practices of French speakers.[95] Organizers thus opted for the scheduling of a spiritual ceremony without any religious affiliation. They hoped that this solution would answer Catholic parents' demands without imposing a religious practice on non-French Canadian/Catholic French speakers. This example reveals the unsettling effects of the simultaneous production of linguistic and cultural 'truths' throughout the process of planning the AFG. The constant tension between the opposing definitions of francophoneness produces a discursively unstable francophone.

A more complex expression of instability is one organizer's reply when I asked members of the Administrative Council to describe the members of the francophone community. She said: "Les gens que je rencontre à droite et à gauche qui s'expriment et qui parlent en français." (SJFA/Ea, 1996).[96] On the face of it, this comment seems to offer a strictly linguistic definition of the community. But the comment was made during a group interview in which a strong cultural definition had been maintained, with no participant disagreeing. It could be that this organizer had disagreed silently, and made her opinion known through this later comment; or that she held two contradictory opinions. But, in context, I find it probable that her spontaneous thought was that whoever speaks French is French Canadian and learned French as a first language. It is only when I mentioned the existence of bilingual anglophones as well as the existence of other cultural groups with French as a first language, such as the members of the AMFA and the *Alliance française*, that she (and the other interviewees) made room for the obvious, suggesting nonetheless that such French speakers would come under the influence of French Canadian culture. Clearly, the cultural discourse ruled that day.

Organizers' articulated ambiguities towards the definition of francophone identity and community are reflected in the staging of the Games. As the contest between the two

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involvement, the Roman Catholic Church was not directly associated to the development and staging of the AFG.

[95] This argument had been made by some of the respondents of the ACFA questionnaire on the issue of separating Catholic religion from the defense of the French language in Alberta. One respondent wrote that many francophones were not Catholic. It is important to note that during this discussion, no one questioned the idea that the francophone of French Canadian origins is necessarily Catholic. The cultural discourse constructs an unquestioned link between French Canadian heritage and Catholic beliefs. It was assumed that non-Catholic francophones were not French Canadian.

[96] "People that I meet left and right who express themselves in, and speak, French."

discourses unfolds, they are faced with opposing views simultaneously producing and reproducing the francophone community, thus constructing an uncertain francophone. This ambiguity is characteristic of the discursive space of the AFG as a whole. The ambivalence between linguistic and cultural 'truths' persists not only at the organizational but at individual levels too. In other words, not only are associations marked by the competing views of their members, but individuals' beliefs may also be structured by both discourses. Not only do organizers enunciate linguistic statements as well as cultural statements, they also articulate statements that belong to both discursive formations. For instance, the quote, "Bien, j'imagine que la majorité du monde pense que francophone ça veut dire de langue..., de souche francophone."[97], illustrates the intersection of both discourses in a same statement.

How did such a situation of discursive instability come about? Cardinal (1997) argues that the French Canadian nation has been re-invented, from a cultural to a linguistic group through the deployment of the official languages regime of rights. For his part, Bernard (1998) claims that formerly cultural francophone communities have been reinvented as linguistic groups in the context of multiculturalism, individual rights, intercultural policies, demographic changes and cultural setbacks. The common thread of these arguments is that the linguistic discourse would have predominantly replaced the formerly prevalent cultural discourse producing francophones in Canada. But clearly, this transformation is far from complete: cultural 'truths' still circulate in the Alberta francophone community. It is, however, under pressure from the legally established linguistic regime.

The cultural discourse has indeed predominated in the historical production of francophone communities. Most of these communities were socially constructed when groups of French Canadians left Quebec to establish themselves in Ontario or in the Western provinces where they tried to recreate the life and practices they had known in their province of origin. Some of these entrepreneurs and settlers first migrated to the United-States before returning to Canada and colonizing certain regions of Alberta (Fedigan and Allaire, 1990). Hart (1981) estimates that it is between 1877 and 1905 that the French Canadian community in Alberta became aware of its distinct identity compared to the rest of the province's population. The collective work titled Aspects du passé franco-albertain (Trottier, Allaire et Munro, 1980) illustrates the predominant articulation of the cultural discourse that emerged and produced the "us" as a French Canadian community. While the introduction of this book alludes to its contents as the history of the Albertan "francophonie"--an expression that appears to refer to French speakers in general--the different texts are undoubtedly devoted to ethnic French Canadians. The authors focus on the one hand, on the community and political involvement of French Canadians, and on the other hand, on the institutions that they established, such as parishes, the *Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste*, the ACFA and the *Collège des Jésuites*.

However, French-speaking settlers of diverse origins helped colonize Alberta. From the 1880s onwards, French, Belgian, and Métis French speakers also established themselves on the territory that later became Alberta (Dumont, 1997; Fedigan and Allaire, 1990; Smith, 1985). In their study covering three generations of francophones in

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[97] "Well, I imagine the majority of the people think that francophone refers to... language, to having francophone roots."

Alberta, Allaire and Fedigan (1991) detected cultural conflicts between French-speaking European immigrants, French Canadians who had lived in the United States before settling in Alberta and French Canadians who had migrated to Alberta from elsewhere in Canada. Furthermore, Lalonde (1983) mentions that French and Belgian settlers were aware of cultural differences between themselves and French Canadians. They kept their distance from the *Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste* since this association nurtured French Canadian nationalism, an ideology that they did not embrace. French speakers of European or Métis origins were not included in the discursive construction of the community, but they did interact with French Canadians and did participate, on occasion, in some institutions. For instance, in 1899, the Edmonton *Saint-Joachim* parish included French Canadians, French-speaking Métis and other French speakers from France, Belgium and Switzerland (Hart, 1981). However, it appears that French Canadians were determined to preserve the similarities, such as the features of the liturgical year, the character of ceremonies and the role of the choir, between this parish and those in Quebec (Trottier et al., 1980). At the beginning of the century, the majority of the francophone community's leaders had been born and educated in Quebec. Yet, a few immigrants like the Frenchman René Lemarchand also managed to play an important role in the community (Smith, 1985). Despite the presence and involvement of French speakers of diverse cultural origins, the francophone community in Alberta has historically been constructed as a component of the French Canadian nation. French Canadian history and culture is thus at the core of this version of the community.

The emergence of the linguistic discourse during the 1970s threatened the predominance of the cultural discourse and disrupted the presumed stability of francophone identity and community. Since then, the discursive production of francophoneness has wavered between the cultural imperative and the criterion of linguistic ability. In analysing the development of francophone rights, Cardinal (1997) argues that the French Canadian nation was reinvented into a linguistic collectivity as a result of the unfolding federal regime of official languages rights. In fact, since the late 1960s, the federal state has adopted policies on bilingualism and official languages hence taking on the role of defender of linguistic minorities in Canada. It is in this political context that, since the 1970s, financial resources have been allocated to francophone associations. This availability of funding led to the creation of new francophone provincial structures (Painchaud, 1981) as well as to the transformation, if not complete at least partial, of existing French Canadian structures into a linguistic institutional network. Thus, provincialized francophone identities created in reaction to the presumed fragmentation of the French Canadian nation (Thériault, 1994; Juteau, 1980) were institutionalized.

The counterpart to the federal government linguistic policies in bringing about the discursive shift in the construction of francophone communities was the emerging political presence of non-French Canadian French speakers. These French speakers asserted their own claim to francophone identity and questioned the constructed homogeneity of francophone communities (Cardinal et Lapointe, 1990; Cardinal, 1994; Guindon, 1984). Indeed, Guindon explained that in Ontario the pluralist francophone minority, invisible until the 1980s, was at the time in the process of acquiring a more elaborate community organization. In Alberta, the presence of French speakers of diverse cultural origins was reinforced during the 1960s and 1970s with the arrival of

French immigrants and other French speakers from former French colonies (Smith, 1985). These immigrants gained an institutional voice in the francophone network through an ACFA committee on multiculturalism which then became the AMFA in 1989, thus joining the *Société acadienne de l'Alberta*, the *Alliance française* and the *Union des Français à l'étranger* as organizational traces of the cultural diversity of the French-speaking population in Alberta.

Cardinal (1994) observes that during this past decade, francophone associations in Canada have started to produce studies and documents on the topic of French-speaking immigrants as well as non-French Canadian French speakers. The ACFA participated in the debate on the plural cultural reality of francophones by developing a bilingualism and multiculturalism policy that poses the francophone community as a linguistic pluri-cultural formation (ACFA, 1990). In 1991, Churchill and Kaprielian-Churchill published a report on the social changes affecting francophone communities, namely the increasingly multicultural, multiethnic, multilingual and multiracial character of Canada. This research mandated by the *Fédération des communautés francophones et acadiennes* (FCFA) included a pilot study in Alberta analyzing the relationships between the francophone community and French-speaking immigrants. The researchers noticed that among ACFA structures, the regional offices in Edmonton, Calgary and Fort McMurray were more aware than other ACFA regional offices of the recent arrival of French-speaking immigrants. But this awareness was not equally shared among all their respective members.

The study also claimed that there were few and sporadic interactions between French-speaking immigrants and the ACFA or its members. Indeed, Stebbins (1994) commented that, in Calgary, French Canadians and French speakers of various other cultural origins did not participate in the same activities, and therefore had few opportunities to fraternize. French Canadians attended the *Cabane à sucre*, while others went to activities organized by the *Alliance française* and the *Lycée Louis-Pasteur*. His study of Calgary's French-speaking collectivity also mentioned the existence of significant internal tensions during the 1960s and later on. European immigrants disagreed with Canadian born French-speakers on key issues, including the quality of French language education in the city.

The FCFA research also indicated that French-speaking immigrants reported being excluded by francophones and that this rejection constituted the most important problem that they faced in trying to integrate into the community (Churchill and Kaprielian-Churchill, 1991). The same issue arose during my interview with AMFA representatives: they felt ignored and unacknowledged by members of the francophone community (AMFA/E, 1997).[98] In calling for the inclusion of French-speaking immigrants in the community, the report warns that the "Canadian *francophonie* must now be seen as being made up of multicultural Francophone communities where there is room for different groups" (p. 91). In other words, the integration of different cultural groups should not require that these 'new' francophones abandon their cultural differences to 'fit' in the community. The persistent circulation of the cultural discourse in francophone associations such as the ACFA, FJA and the SJFA demonstrates that this approach to the

[98] It is also useful to recall at this point that the issue of inclusion/exclusion in the francophone community was presumably sufficiently contentious that AMFA representatives only agreed to an interview with me as long as the information was confidential.

inclusion of 'new' francophones has not fully replaced French Canadian definitions of francophoneness.

In short, the linguistic discourse became more prevalent with the development of French language rights and the adoption of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, the increasing visibility of the multicultural spectrum of French speakers, in addition to the multiplication of mixed marriages and the community involvement of the 'francophile' spouses. This is a brief and limited summary of some conditions of possibility for the emergence of the linguistic discourse. Suffice it to say that during the past 30 years, the changes in social and political circumstances have allowed the articulation of the linguistic francophone. Clearly, there have always been non-French Canadian French speakers in the province. It is not the cultural composition of the French-speaking population in Alberta that changed--it was always multicultural, albeit less diverse than today--but rather the way in which the francophone community is conceived that is now different. In other words, the discursive production of francophoneness shifted from cultural 'truths' to linguistic 'truths'. However, the continued relevance of the cultural discourse should not be underestimated. My analysis argues that the transformation of French Canadian communities into linguistic communities is far from complete. Indeed, cultural 'truths' are still circulating at the AFG and in the francophone community.

This outline of the narrative dichotomies crossing the competing discourses producing francophone identities at the AFG points to the instability of these identities.[99] This instability is accentuated by the different meanings that labels associated with the 'francophone' take on as they are enunciated in the context of the Games. In fact, various descriptors repeatedly surface at the site of the AFG to characterize the participants, the culture, the community and the language. Despite being associated with competing definitions of francophoneness associated with either of the two francophone discourses and their transverse dichotomies, contradicting labels may appear in the same text whether it be the official program of the fifth Games or an interview transcript. This leads to inconsistencies not only between individuals and associations, but also between individual members of an association as well as among an individual's own practices and statements.

5.4 Francophone instability: acknowledged but unresolved at the AFG

[99] Conversely, Harvey's (1999) study of the francophone nationalism manifested in the sport and leisure policies of the *Parti Québécois* points to an apparent definite shift from a cultural discourse to a linguistic discourse. Harvey (1999) maintains that the *Parti Québécois* viewed sport as a tool to promote a cultural nationalism in the late 1970s, whereas a "supra-ethnic" vision of the nation framed the sport and leisure component of its 1994 political platform. According to this argument, the *Québécois* identity sustaining the *Parti 's* nationalism officially expressed in party and government sport documentation, has moved from a cultural identity to a linguistic identity with a strong civic/political focus for nation building. However, in non-official expressions of francophone nationalism, the cultural and linguistic/civic poles may be much less clearly demarcated, such as revealed by the history of Quebec nationalism (see Denis, 1996). In manifestations of francophone identities outside Quebec, the distinction between cultural and linguistic francophone identities can also be blurred, as I have attempted to show here with regards to the AFG. Different expressions of francophoneness are produced at the AFG in a way that sometimes confounds the demarcation between cultural and linguistic identities.

AFG organizers recognized that the definition of francophone identity is unstable. They also acknowledged that there were some inconsistencies concerning the production of francophoneness at the Games. However, despite their intentions, they did not take action to resolve the confusing and competing objectives of the AFG. They did make an effort to adopt a new terminology in documents to describe the participants as French-speaking youths. But terms like "francophone" and "francophile" still surface in documents to describe participants while "Franco-Albertan", "French Canadian" and "French" are still used to characterize francophone identity, community and culture. Organizers did intend to create a committee to define the culture they should promote at the Games. Yet, other things were more pressing. This committee and the cultural policy it was to formulate were not a priority and were thus not put in place. When the idea of the "francophone" was challenged during the AGM, organizers did not propose an official SJFA definition. Instead of debating the meaning of francophone or adopting a name for the Games that would more clearly encompass all participants, volunteers and organizers, they decided to convince those 'others' that they were indeed included in the AFG.

In many ways, the instability of the francophone at the Games allows the organizers to put on bigger games and attract French speakers who espouse either linguistic or cultural 'truths'. However, producing both discourses does bring about some difficulties. For instance, some organizers/*chefs de mission* did not feel included in the official representation of the Games. And some parents or school administrators did not collaborate since they considered that their children or students did not 'fit' in the Games. The AFG are thus marked by the ongoing tension between the linguistic and the cultural discoursed. While this discursive struggle is also, for instance, waged in the community and in francophone schools, the sporting character of the AFG particularly influences it. Indeed, the Games are not only a site of discursive struggle between francophone discourses, but also a site of competing francophone and sport objectives.

PART THREE

FRANCOPHONENESS AT THE GAMES: CHALLENGES AND DILEMMAS

CHAPTER SIX - THE SPORT AGENDA AND ITS IMPACT ON THE FRANCOPHONENESS OF THE GAMES

6.1 Sport and francophoneness: parallel or competing agendas?

> Il va y avoir aussi du Culturel[1]
> Pas juste du sport[2]
> [Title of the section on cultural activities, fifth AFG official program] (SJFA, 1997a, p. 7)

AFG founders and organizers conceived of sport as a way to attract French-speaking youths to an event that would promote francophone identity. Presuming that sport would contribute to community building, they gave the Games a dual mandate, the development of francophone pride and of sporting excellence. They viewed sport, conducted in French and under francophone auspices, as an effective medium to attract the younger generation into the francophone community. However, in the practice of the AFG, the sport mandate has had the paradoxical effect of both sustaining and undermining the production of francophoneness. Over the years, organizers have faced difficult decisions that follow from the insufficiency of sporting resources within the community itself and the challenges of encouraging the performance of francophoneness among teenagers at the Games. In some cases, the choices they made demonstrated the difficulties of reconciling the francophone and sport agendas. In other cases, organizers questioned dominant sporting values and attempted to adopt practices that gave priority to the francophone agenda.

For instance, organizers of the 1997 Falher AFG wanted to ensure that the cultural component would not be overlooked; an ambition clearly conveyed in the title of the cultural section of the official program (see quote above). During an interview conducted a few weeks before the fifth AFG, one of the members of the 1997 Steering Committee, who had volunteered with the Peace River delegation for the four earlier editions of the Games, commented that perhaps the francophoneness of the event had previously not been sufficiently promoted (SJFA/Eb, 1997). This is why, she explained, Falher organizers wished to offer an extensive cultural program and foster a strong community involvement. Most of all, they hoped to provide a warm reception to all traveling participants and volunteers.

> On veut qu'il y ait du monde [comme spectateurs]. On veut qu'ils [participants] soient acceuillis. On veut que les gens rencontrent des gens de la région. On veut qu'ils voient c'est quoi, que oui l'influence

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[1] Emphasis in the original

[2] "There will also be **Culture**/ Not just sport"

> anglophone est là. Oui, mais quand même, il y a quelque chose qui se fait pareil dans la région du nord. Il y a une fierté.[3] (SJFA/Eb, 1997).

Indeed, they were proud to host the AFG and wanted visiting French speakers to truly feel welcome. Not only would AFG participants and volunteers visit a different part of Alberta, they would also experience francophone life in this northern region.

> [Les Jeux] contribuent, bien, à nous voir sur la carte. Faire connaître la région. Les jeunes quand ils viennent ici et ils retournent à la maison, ils disent: "Oui, c'est ça qu'on a vécu". Donc, ça fait connaître l'accueil, les gens d'ici, ce qu'ils vont voir, ce qu'ils vont vivre. Surtout ce qu'ils vont vivre.[4] (SJFA/Eb, 1997).

Falher organizers focused on the francophone outcome of the Games. They wanted to ensure that participants and volunteers would truly experience a connection with the francophone community. This implied recruiting large numbers of local francophone individuals and organizations to accomplish various tasks during the weekend, to greet the delegations at the opening ceremonies, to cheer during competitions and/or to join participants during the cultural activities.

Conversely, organizers of the fourth AFG in St. Albert were mostly preoccupied with the organizational process and the sporting legitimacy of the event. Their efforts were devoted, for example, to implementing an effective marketing campaign and to running thoroughly planned tournaments and athletic competitions in accordance with the rules and regulations of sport governing bodies. As a result, sporting issues and concerns predominated during the St. Albert Games, while the francophone community sentiment was stronger at the Falher Games. This is not to say that Falher organizers did not pay attention to the technical aspects of the AFG nor that the 1996 organizers did nothing to promote the francophoneness of the Games. The point I wish to make here is that the different priorities guiding the planning of the Games in successive years brought the Falher organizers closer than the St. Albert organizers towards the pursuit of francophone objectives.

The dual objectives of the SJFA, on the one hand to integrate French-speaking youths in the francophone community and on the other hand to stage a smoothly run and high quality sporting competitions are difficult, in practice, to pursue equally. Organizers did believe that both the sport and francophone agendas of the AFG were important, and they did want to achieve both. Yet, in staging the Games, one agenda seems almost inevitably to take precedence over the other. Indeed, since the creation of the AFG, organizers have encountered recurrent questions about the best way to maintain the francophone character of the Games, while simultaneously developing sporting excellence in the francophone community.

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[3] "We hope there will be a lot of people [spectators]. We want them [participants] to be welcome. We want the people to meet people from the region. We want them to see what it is, that yes, the anglophone influence exists. Yes, but nevertheless, there is something going on in the northern region. There is pride."

[4] "[The Games] contribute, well, to put us on the map. To make our region known. When the youths come here and then go back home, they say: 'Yes, this is what we experienced.' So, it is to introduce them to the welcome, people from here, what they will see, what they will live. Especially what they will live."

Sport studies research points to the complexity of the task AFG organizers faced. Indeed, the literature on the role of sport in the reproduction of minority cultural identities in Canada reveals that sporting practices can both strengthen and undermine these identities. Harney's analysis of the impacts of sport within immigrant and ethnic groups in Ontario (1985) argues that some sporting contexts can lead to the construction of distinct cultural identities, while others lead to assimilation into Canadian mainstream society. When the structure and form of the sporting event are rooted in the culture of the minority group (for example, soccer organized by "ethnocultural" institutions), sport can contribute to the development and manifestation of the group's collective identity. Thus, in her analysis of the impact of the Franco-Ontarian Games conducted for the Ontario Ministry of Citizenship, Culture and Recreation, Asselin (1995) found that the Franco-Ontarian Games

> seem to have contributed to the students' knowledge of the "French fact" in Ontario, they may have increased cultural identification with the Franco-Ontarian community, and they have attained their objective of leaving "participants with a sentiment of pride in belonging to the Franco-Ontarian community" (p. 33).

Sport's possibilities for the expression of distinct identities has also been evidenced in the case of Flemish folk games in Ontario (Rensen, De Kegel and Smulders, 1983) and in the case of the Northern Games in the Northwest Territories (Paraschak, 1991).

Yet, Paraschak's research on various native games, tournaments and leagues (1990, 1991, 1997) also underlines the complicated effects of sport in simultaneously promoting and weakening distinct cultural identities. Thus, other research on the participation of various ethnic groups in soccer leagues in Toronto and London has shown that when the different sport clubs or teams do not sustain their cultural differentiation, sporting practice contributes to the attenuation or erosion of minority identities (Day, 1981; McKay, 1980; Walter, Brown and Grabb, 1991). Even when sport is practiced under the auspices of the minority community's institutions, the adoption of dominant sport values, namely the emphasis on winning and on standardized competition, can lead to practices such as the recruitment of players outside the community which disrupts the promotion of the "ethnocultural" identity. The emphasis on dominant sport values can also lead talented young people, in particular, into the sporting 'mainstream', as they seek the best available coaching and competition. The effect of sport on the production of minority identities evidently depends on the context and on the principles and values that govern sporting practices. In other words, the influence of sport is contingent on the ability of minority groups to question and alter hegemonic sporting practices in order to better achieve their identity and community building objectives rather than modifying or neglecting this latter agenda in order to better conform with dominant sport imperatives.

The purpose of this Chapter is to discuss the relationships between sport agendas and francophone agendas and how they have shaped the process of staging the Games. First, I will briefly describe the two sport discourses articulated in the context of the AFG. Where the excellence discourse emphasizes both sporting competitiveness and the reproduction of established technical and organizational standards, the participation discourse promotes recreational sport and the modification of structural and technical

criteria. Second, I will outline the three principal AFG debates generated by the interaction of sport and francophone discourses: 1) smaller 'francophone' Games vs. bigger French-speaking Games; 2) competitive vs. recreational Games; and, 3) sport vs. francophoneness. I conclude this chapter by pointing to the effects of this muddled discursive space for any evaluation of the "succeses" (or failures) of the AFG. The success of the Games is not uniformly assessed in terms of the original impetus for the Games, but rather for some in terms of sporting and organizational criteria.

6.2 Sport discourses at the AFG

> Je sais que ces jeux représentent pour vous un moment spécial dans votre vie. J'espère que vous en profiteraient (sic) bien pour bien réussir et faire de bons amis. En tant que jeunes (sic) athlète francophone, j'aimerais souhaiter à tous les délégués bonne chance et bon succès. L'importance des jeux est d'atteindre son plein potentiel ainsi que de s'amuser![5]
> "Natalie Tardif, Présidente d'honneur, Premiers jeux francophones de l'Alberta" (FJA, 1992a)

> Nous avons tous la possibilité d'atteindre notre maximum et je vois le sport comme une excellente façon de mettre à profit tout notre potentiel. Le sport nous donne la volonté de nous dépasser, d'accéder à un haut niveau de performance, d'être le ou la meilleure dans son domaine. Moi, c'est l'escrime qui m'a amené à aller chercher tout ce que j'avais de force et de détermination pour me tailler une bonne place dans cette discipline. C'est une expérience dont je tire énormément de bénéfices. J'espère que tous les athlètes de ces Jeux auront la chance de pousser un peu plus loin leurs limites. Je vous souhaite, chers athlètes, toutes les récompenses que le sport m'a offertes.[6]
> Renée Aubin, co-présidente d'honneur "Message aux athlètes", (FJA, 1993a).

> Aprés avoir vécu moi-même l'expérience de la compétition dans différents jeux, je réalise l'opportunité extraordinaire que vous aurez, au cours des prochains jours, non seulement en réalisant

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[5] "I know that these games represent for you a special moment in your life. I hope that you will take the opportunity to do well and to make good friends. As a young francophone athlete, I would like to wish to all delegates good luck and success. The Games' importance is to achieve one's full potential and to have fun!"

[6] "We all have the ability to achieve our best and I view sport as an excellent way to make the most of all our potential. Sport gives us the desire to surpass ourselves, to achieve a higher level of performance, to be the best in our field. Fencing is what lead me to reach for all the power and determination I had in order to be successful in this discipline. It is an experience from which I draw great benefits. I hope that all athletes at these Games will have the chance to push their limits a little further. I wish you, dear athletes, all the rewards sport gave me."

> vos objectifs personnels et en développant votre sens du travail d'équipe, mais aussi en ayant la chance de rencontrer d'autres jeunes d'expression française qui ont le sens du défi, du dépassement de soi, et qui ont envie de s'amuser!![7]
> "Sylvie Fréchette, message de la présidente d'honneur" (SJFA, 1995b).

By choosing organized sport as a medium to bring together French-speaking youths and instill in them a sense of belonging to the francophone community, organizers chose a social activity that is a highly visible aspect of popular culture in Canada (Hall et al., 1991). Whether they were actively involved in sport or not, AFG participants, organizers, founders, funding agencies, spectators, sponsors and supporters were familiar with organized sport. They consequently had certain expectations with regards to the form and content that the sport character of the AFG should assume. Hence, organizers felt they had to conform to some extent, with sporting 'norms', and stage an event similar to those viewed, in popular culture, as successful sport events. This, they believed, would give credibility to the Games, thus making it easier to attract youths, and also easier to gain the necessary support from the francophone community, governments, schools and sponsors.

This need to achieve sporting and social legitimacy produced a discourse of excellence which emphasized sporting and organizational expertise. However, the need to create a context where francophoneness would also be fostered was, in the context of the AFG, not entirely compatible with sporting excellence. As a result, organizers also deployed a second familiar sport discourse, the discourse of participation. This second sport discourse emphasizes inclusiveness rather than restrictions based on sporting ability, and promotes enjoyment and the social dimension of sport over victory. AFG organizers and founders simultaneously articulated fragments from these two sport discourses in their attempts to create a sporting event that would appeal to francophone youths and thus enable the production of francophone identity. Thus, two contrasting sport discourses--produced through the reiteration of discursive fragments encountered in popular culture--concurrently shaped the AFG.

The messages addressed to participants by AFG honorary chairpersons quoted above illustrate how fragments of these two ways of conceiving sport were combined, in the thinking of different individuals. The 1993 AFG honorary chairperson focused on the importance of giving one's best, pushing one's limits and achieving one's highest potential. The other two honorary chairpersons repeated the same theme of sporting excellence but they added the idea that the Games were also a place to build friendships and to have fun. Throughout the staging of the AFG, many organizers regularly shifted from one sport discourse to another. The following section briefly describes the excellence and the participation sport discourses and how they shaped the AFG.

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[7] "After having myself experienced competition in different games, I recognize the extraordinary opportunity that you will have, during the next few days, not only in achieving your personal objectives and in developing your sense of team work, but also in getting the chance to meet other young French-speaking youths that seek challenges, want to surpass themselves and who want to have fun!!"

6.2.1 The discourse of excellence

The discourse about excellence produced at the AFG draws predominantly from two sources: prolympism and a management discourse. Donnelly (1996) states that the vast amount of media, public and academic attention given to professional sports and to the Olympic Games attests to the dominance of high performance sport over alternative forms of sporting practice. This has "become the yardstick by which all other forms of sport are judged." (Donnelly, 1996, p. 25). AFG founders and organizers were explicitly inspired by the modern Olympic movement and the values that Pierre de Coubertin attributed to modern sport (FJA, 1993h; SJFA, 1994). Indeed, athletes, coaches, *chefs de mission*, organizers and volunteers were expected to adhere to the five Olympic principles, which organizers understood as: 1) the harmonious development of body and mind; 2) personal development through the pursuit of excellence; 3) self-discipline and amateurism; 4) universal adherence to sport rules; 5) the promotion of international unity and peace through sport (FJA, 1993h). My fieldwork reveals that organizers have, among these five principles, predominantly focused on the development of personal excellence and the importance of following established sport regulations.[8]

Not only have AFG organizers repeated the set of values associated with Olympism, they have also reproduced the Olympic sporting structure, a structure that is now aimed certainly in Canada at the systematic production of sporting excellence (Macintosh and Whitson, 1990). Since organizers aspire to ensure the development of francophone high performance athletes to represent Canada at the international *Jeux de la francophonie* (SJFA, 1994) and since one of the objectives of the AFG is to encourage the development of future Olympic athletes (FJA, n.d.; SJFA, 1995a), organizers have tried to devise a sporting structure that provides for the production of competitive, formalized and standardized sporting performances. They copied the structure of the Acadian Games, modeled on the Olympic Games, and tried to institute a sport event that would be considered 'legitimate' according to sporting standards. This has meant that AFG organizers have sought to conform to the rules and regulations of sport governing bodies. For instance, sport competitions at the AFG followed the rules established by the official sport associations. In addition, some track and field events were sanctioned (Athletics Alberta, 1995) and organizers hoped that all AFG sport competitions would eventually be sanctioned:

> On mentionne qu'il serait bien que toutes les disciplines soit "sanctioned" car ce serait bien pour la crédibilité des jeux. On rappelle que d'être "sanctioned" veut dire que si les athlètes des Jeux brisent des records, ces derniers seraient reconnus officiellement par la province.[9] (SJFA, 1995f).

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[8] Organizers have admittedly articulated a few statements regarding the idea of a healthy mind and body, mostly in terms of physical activity for health (SJFA, 1997b; SJFA/Ef, 1997), but these discursive fragments were sparse and were not explicitly translated in the process of staging the Games.

[9] "It is mentioned that it would be good if all disciplines could be sanctioned since it would increase the credibility of the Games. It is repeated that 'sanctioned' implies that if athletes break records at the Games, these records will be officially recognized by the province."

However, the scarcity of sport expertise within the francophone community, specifically in terms of certified officials and coaches, has limited the possibilities of holding sanctioned competitions in all sport disciplines. The SJFA has attempted to further develop sporting knowledge among francophones by planning to offer training opportunities (Dallaire, 1996-1997; Health and Welfare Canada, 1993). One of these SJFA training projects, for example, provided instruction in French for the certification of French-speaking volleyball officials. By helping to develop sport expertise within the community and in seeking to establish connections with sport governing bodies, the SJFA sought to make the Games a 'better' sporting event, that would in turn contribute to the development of excellence among young francophones by: developping a greater understanding of different sports, their rules and strategies and inviting a greater participation of youths in 'official' sporting institutions (FJA, 1993b).

The adoption of values and a sport structure based on Olympism and modern sport has produced a strong interest in the outcome of competitions. Since the first AFG, the results of all the competitions have been recorded and statistics compiled in order to determine which delegation had accumulated the most points. Moreover, from the second edition of the Games and on, these sport results have been used to determine which delegation had improved the most (Dallaire 1996-1997; FJA, n.d.). At the meeting to evaluate the first AFG, it was recommended that the record sport performances be publicized in the second AFG's official program (FJA, 1992b). Hence, since the second AFG, all official programs have included a section that has outlined the track and field record performances. Official Games' programs have also occasionally documented the previous AFG results for team sports and track and field competitions.

The discourse about excellence articulated at the AFG also draws on management beliefs and concepts that produce the need for 'sound' management practices and the need for expertise not only in terms of sport, but also in terms of organizational processes. In a study of the changing discourses in the Canadian amateur sport associations, Macintosh and Whitson (1990)[10] have analyzed the effects of the emerging sport management discourse on the professionalization and on the technical and bureaucratic rationalization of these sport associations. Not only have leaders and professionals in amateur sport organizations adopted the "language of bureaucratic rationalization", they have also shifted towards management practices "directed toward the rationalized deployment of (...) resources in pursuit of (...) purposes and performance targets" (Whitson and Macintosh, 1990, p. 42).

AFG organizers' focus on the improvement of various organizational tasks in order to stage a well-run event reflects, on a local level, the 'normalizing' effects of this national discourse.

> This year the Steering Committee has adopted a mandate of organizing a ***quality product,***[11] and has respected this by introducing innovations into the planning of the Games. Any organization that attempts to emulate the energy and vitality of youth must seek its perfection through growth and development. (...) As a result of the formation of a

[10] See also Whitson and Macintosh (1990)
[11] Emphasis in original

> steering committee, more energy will now be invested in their organization and programming. (SJFA, 1996c).

While the SJFA has not had the resources to hire permanent staff trained in event organization or in community building, it has adopted what it understood as good management practices in order to 'improve' the Games. This has meant the development of a new organizational structure by creating two separate committees: the Administrative Council, which governs the SJFA and its projects and the Steering Committee, which stages the Games. The rationalization of the SJFA also lead to the development of technical resources and the training of organizers and volunteers. Indeed, AFG organizers produced various tools such as a guidebook for the management of the sport program (SJFA, 1995c), a joint program with FJA for the management of volunteers (FJA, 1995), various marketing and partnership plans (FJA, 1993e; SJFA, 1995h; 1996i; 1996l) with related detailed contracts with major sponsors (FJA, 1993f), a thorough evaluation report of the organizational procedures of the fourth AFG (SJFA, 1996q) and annual guidebooks for the *chefs de mission* (FJA, n.d.; SJFA, 1996a). In addition, the SJFA organized a training session for the *chefs de mission* in February 1997 (Dallaire, 1996-1997) and also put in place a project for the leadership training of volunteers (SJFA, 1996k).

Part of AFG organizers' focus on the development of technical resources is perhaps associated with the fact that they wanted to reproduce the *Jeux de l'Acadie* phenomena in Alberta. To achieve this, they copied the structure of the Acadian games and adapted the resources and technical materials of the *Société des Jeux de l'Acadie*. Physical educators founded the *Jeux de l'Acadie* (Berthiaume, 1993), and developed the games' structure and resources with the assistance of *Sport-Québec*, the amateur sport association responsible for the *Jeux du Québec* (Landry, 1994). The process of staging the AFG had thus been influenced by the sport expertise developed in physical education and applied in sport organizations.

However, AFG organizers' focus on the establishment of 'sound' management practices and their concern for bureaucratic and technical rationalization is also related to the management practices adopted in francophone associations. Only three or four AFG organizers would have been introduced to the discourses of sport management through a formal education in physical education or through their involvement in amateur sport associations. But, as I observed in Chapter Four, most of the organizers had been actively involved with FJA and other francophone associations as leaders, members or volunteers. Moreover, at least thirteen of them had at some point been part of the paid staff of francophone associations. Throughout my fieldwork it became obvious that these individuals involved in the leadership and operations of FJA and the SJFA spoke the language of bureaucratic efficiency and were familiar with management practices. This was, for instance, manifested in the terminology they used during the meetings as well as in the various reports and technical/administrative documents they produced.

In articulating fragments of this management discourse, AFG organizers were reproducing the ideas and practices about the efficient deployment of resources that circulated in FJA and in other francophone associations. Indeed, just as government intervention lead amateur sport organizations towards the adoption of the management discourse, it appears that government intervention in francophone community building

had the same effect on francophone associations. Lafontant (1993) and Savas (1988) report that since the 1960s and 1970s, the Quebec government and then the federal government became the major sources of institutional funding for francophone organizations in the West. Through this allocation of financial resources, the federal government has influenced and shaped the development of francophone institutions by instigating a trend towards the professionalization and the bureaucratic rationalization of these associations (Lafontant, 1993; Savas, 1988). Like amateur sport organizations, francophone associations have become dependent on government funding, and they have had, among other things, to demonstrate that government funds were efficiently and effectively used.

The SJFA focus on the development of a sport expertise and management expertise must be connected to its aspiration to stage a well run event. I noticed this effort to gain legitimacy and to appear successful during the March 1996 press conference, at the very beginning of my fieldwork. I was quite impressed by the professionalism AFG organizers demonstrated during this press event held to: announce the coming fourth edition of the AFG to be held in St. Albert; introduce Sylvie Fréchette, a Canadian Olympic gold medallist in synchronized swimming, as the honorary chairperson; and reveal the promotional poster for these Games (Dallaire, 1996-1997). The multicolored comprehensive press kit provided information on the history of the AFG, on the Administrative Council and its activities, on the Steering Committee and the plans for the fourth AFG (with details on the sport program, marketing goals, the volunteer management program, the zoning system and more.)

All information in the press kit was provided in French and in English since both French and English-speaking media outlets, namely SRC Television and CFRN Television, had been invited and were actually on site. Indeed the press conference was bilingual: All announcements and speeches were made in both official languages. The presence of English-speaking media and the bilingual character of the press conference demonstrated that AFG organizers sought legitimacy both within and outside the francophone community. The inclusion of the English language also points to the idea that to be a worthy event, the Games had to be recognized and acknowledged in English-speaking Alberta. Various dignitaries were in attendance such as the Mayor of St. Albert, *Société Radio-Canada* administrators and the president of FJA. All details, down to the hors d'oeuvres, appeared to have been taken care of.

6.2.2 The discourse of participation

While the discourses of sporting and management excellence provided the basic structure and principles of the Games a second sport discourse, the discourse of participation, also shaped the AFG. Indeed, the latter discourse generated some alternatives to dominant sporting practices that organizers felt could undermine the promotion of francophoneness which was, after all, the impetus for creating the Games. While prolympism dominates as the form of sport in popular culture, Laberge (1995) notes that other kinds of sporting practices struggle against highly organized and competitive sport over the legitimate definition of sport. Some of these have consciously tried to put the emphasis on sport as a recreational activity and insisted on the importance

of making it a pleasant experience for all those involved. AFG organizers have adopted a similar strategy in trying to change some aspects of dominant sporting practice to better achieve their francophone agenda. For instance, no previous sporting experience, let alone minimum sporting ability, was required for participation in the AFG (FJA, 1993e; SJFA, 1994; 1996c). The eligibility criterion contradicted modern sport's elitism based on athletic skills.

A second alternative idea was manifested in organizers' conception of the Games as a place for youths to have fun and build new friendships (SJFA/Ea, 1996; SJFA/Eb, 1997; SJFA/En, 1997). In Olympism, "sport is viewed as meaningful in terms of the social and educational benefits that derive from it rather than it just being 'fun'" (Donnelly, 1996, p. 25). While they adopted a similar utilitarian view of the AFG regarding the production of francophoneness as well as the development of excellence, AFG organizers concurrently enunciated the idea that youths would take pleasure from participating in the different sport events and from meeting other participants. They tried to encourage youths to enjoy the process of practicing the sports rather than focusing on winning.

To this end, AFG founders had decided against distributing prizes to the top individual and team performers (SJFA, 1994), a taken for granted practice in most institutionalized sport. The point was to encourage sociability and fun rather than promoting victory as the ultimate goal. Founders believed that awarding prizes to delegations, rather than to individual athletes or teams, would foster collaboration among members of a same delegation. One of these delegation prizes, the *Prix de l'amitié*, also illustrates the impact of the participation discourse on the AFG. The objective of this friendship award was to:

> Susciter, chez tous les participants des J.F.A., le développement d'un plus grand esprit sportif, de créer un climat de collaboration et d'amitié entre les athlètes, les instructeurs, les officiels et les organisateurs et de souligner le phénomène de la fierté française.[12] (FJA, n.d.).

Rather than judges or officials being responsible for choosing the recipient of this award, the winning delegation was elected through a popular vote among all participants. Again, this is an award selection procedure that differs from common practices in organized and competitive sport. In short, the participation discourse articulated at the AFG allowed the introduction of alternative values and practices within a competitive and organized sport structure.

6.3 Intersection of sport and francophone discourses at the AFG

Both competitive and recreational sport discourse are articulated in the context of the AFG. As a result, the Games do not have a clear sport mandate: Are they a competitive or a recreational event? This discursive instability of the sport agenda is an

[12] "Encourage the development of greater sportsmanship among all AFG participants, create a collaborative and friendly climate among athletes, instructors, officials and organizers and emphasize francophone pride."

effect of the concurrent articulation of the two sport discourses but it is also connected to the francophone agenda of the Games. In fact, the francophone mandate sustains the articulation of the participation discourse that disrupts the stability of the discourse of excellence at the AFG. The pursuit of the dual francophone and sport agendas is thus the fundamental challenge that organizers face. The following section discusses the effects of the intersection of sport and francophone discourses by pointing to the three issues it generates that particularly influence the AFG: What is the sport mandate of the AFG? What is a francophone at the AFG? Are the AFG for the development of sport or of francophoneness?

6.3.1 Staging competitive or recreational Games?

> Et ça [la débat sport compétitif vs. sport récréatif], c'est le gros dilemme, je trouve, pour les Jeux. Je n'ai pas de réponse, mais tu entends les deux choses, qu'est-ce que les gens veulent en région. Il y en a qui disent: "On n'y va pas parce que c'est trop compétitif". Et il y en a qui n'y vont pas parce que: "Bien non, on veut de la compétition". Et ça, ça vient du fait qu'il y a de petites écoles qui ont quelques élèves dans leur école. Et c'est juste une école francophone. Il y a d'autres écoles qui font partie d'une plus grosse école et ils gagnent les [finales] provinciales. (...) Moi, je pense qu'il faudrait qu'ils [organisateurs] décident. Moi j'irais plus du côté participatif dans le sens que je pense que les Jeux essaient trop d'être vraiment professionnel ou de...[13] (FJA/Ed, 1997):

Organizers' ambivalence between modern sport practices and alternative sport practices is the issue that characterizes the sport agenda of the Games. As shown in the description of the excellence and participation discourses, the AFG concurrently reproduces both discourses. This is reflected in the contradictory strategies and practices organizers have opted for. The Games have a structure that encourages and fosters competition. However, organizers have established a criterion for selecting participants based on francophoneness rather than sporting skill. The unresolved debate between staging a 'truly' competitive or recreational event generated, among other things, recruitment problems as mentioned in the quote above. Yet, an organizer commented that if this debate was resolved and the Games became either more competitive or more recreational, the number of participants would be lower. She believed that in some ways the current instability also allowed for the recruitment of proponents of both forms of sport (Dallaire, 1996-1997). The issue of the contradictory sport objectives of the AFG

[13] "And that [the competitive vs. recreational sport debate] I think is the major dilemma at the Games. I do not have the answer, but you hear both things, what the people in the regions want. Some say: 'We do not go because it is too competitive.' And others do not go because: 'Well no, we want competition.' And this comes from the fact that there are small schools with only a few students in the school. And it is only a francophone school. There are other schools who are part of bigger schools and they win the provincial [finals]. (...) I think that they [organizers] have to decide. I would go towards participation in the sense that I think the Games try too hard to be really professional or ..."

also led to repeated discussions among organizers. One of the long-time organizers observed that "il y a un gros débat. Je pense que ça va continuer à se débattre, jusqu'à ce qu'ils décident d'aller compétitif ou nettement que ça reste récréatif et qu'il n'y ait plus de débat."[14] (SJFA/El, 1997).

The most telling example of the contest between the excellence and the participation discourses at the AFG was the recurrent debate about whether or not to distribute medals to the individual winners. While organizers attached importance to sport results and tried to conform to all the rules and regulations governed by official sport associations, they did not formally celebrate individual achievement. I noted in section 6.2.2 that as opposed to common practice in organized sport competitions, founders of the AFG decided to distribute awards to delegations rather than individual prizes.

In discussing the idea that the AFG tried to be simultaneously competitive and recreational, one of the founders explained the reasoning that guided the development of the sport and award structures:

> Il y a deux choses. C'est dur à nommer aussi. C'est peut-être pour ça que c'est dur à comprendre et à passer. C'est que la compétition elle est importante. Si on enlève la compétition, le jeune ne s'intéressera pas. Donc, on doit avoir des gens en-dessous des chefs de mission qui sont des pros de compétition. On doit même battre des records. C'est important ça. Mais il faut toujours le faire dans un état d'esprit. Et l'état d'esprit, c'est le chef de mission qui l'amène. Il faut qu'il les [participants] expose aux éléments culturels. Sinon, on est aussi bien d'aller aux Alberta Games. Sinon, il n'y en aura pas de différence. Le chef de mission a cette responsabilité. Et c'est là que ça bascule sur l'autre bord. Et si nous, dans nos structures, on n'a pas mis de médailles à chacun, c'est que l'élément de coopération, quand on est une petite communauté, il faut travailler ensemble. Et quand tu fais partie d'une communauté, si tu gagnes UN individu, on amène l'élément positif sur tout le monde. C'est ça qui était la structure du départ. Je sais qu'elle n'est pas comprise. Je sais qu'à chaque année, il y en a qui veulent donner des médailles... Moi, j'ai toujours été contre ça.[15] (FJA/Ea, 1997).

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[14] "there is a big debate. I think it will continue to be debated until they decide to go completely competitive or really recreational and there will no longer be a debate."

[15] "There are two things. It is difficult to identify. This is probably why it is difficult to understand and to transmit. It is that competition is important. If we leave out competition, the youth will not be interested. Thus, we need to have people assisting the *chefs de mission* that are pros in terms of competition. We even need to break records. That is important. But this always has to be achieved in a certain frame of mind. This frame of mind is created by the *chef de mission*. It is imperative that they [the participants] be exposed to the cultural elements. Otherwise, we might as well go to the Alberta Games. Otherwise, there will be no difference. The *chef de mission* has this responsibility. And that is how it is meant to tip over to the other side. And if we have not granted individual awards within our structures it is because of the cooperation element. In a small community we have to work together. And when you are part of a community, if you win over one individual, you bring a positive element on everyone. That is what was the original structure. I know that it is misunderstood. I know that each year, there are some that want to give medals... I have always been against that."

Another AFG founder was also against the idea of awarding medals and explained that the original debate was about questioning dominant sport practices and the importance of taking the risk of adopting different practices:

> Je pense qu'il ne faut pas avoir peur d'être... C'est ça. Je me souviens Denis... On était contre... Sur le comité, on était peut-être deux ou je ne sais pas qui d'autre était contre l'idée de remettre des médailles aux Jeux. (...) Ça me reste toujours à l'esprit. Denis disait: "Bien, il ne faut pas avoir peur... Ce n'est pas parce que ce n'est pas comme les autres, qu'on n'est pas obligé de faire comme les autres, qu'on n'arrive pas à se valoriser là-dedans non plus." Alors pourquoi il faut donner des médailles? Parce qu'aux Jeux de l'Ouest on donne des médailles? J'étais contre l'idée de donner des médailles, mais en même temps, je trouve ça plate d'être obligé encore de marginaliser ces jeunes: "Vous êtes différents, vous êtes pas comme les autres." À l'adolescence, on a envie d'être comme les autres. Tu regardes les jeunes qui se font faire des tatouages (...) On veut se différencier mais pas à n'importe quel prix. Et pas trop, trop. On veut suivre un peu la masse. Alors, si le jeune va retourner à l'école et va dire: "Bon, je suis allé aux Jeux francophones." "Bien, as-tu gagné quelque chose?" "Bien non, j'ai gagné dans mon ..." Je comprend sa vision aussi. Je pense que c'est un débat intéressant. C'est un débat qui vaut la peine d'être débattu aussi. Mais en même temps, je suis d'accord dans le sens que non, il ne faut pas avoir peur de dire: "On fait les choses différemment. Et, si tu veux aller gagner ta médaille d'or en volleyball, ou en athlétisme en 100 m, bien voilà toutes les institutions qui peuvent t'aider à faire ça."[16] (FJA/Eb, 1997).

Subsequent committee members have tried to comply with this rationale. Members who had participated in competitive sport and who were proponents of the excellence rather than the participation discourse also conformed to this rationale (SJFA/El, 1997; SJFA/Ej, 1997). Yet, this decision was inevitably questioned, by *chefs de mission*, volunteers, participants, and others. For instance, the minutes of a January 1995

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[16] "I think that we should not be afraid to be... That is it. I remember that Denis... We were against... On the committee, we were perhaps two or I can not recall who else was against the idea of awarding medals at the Games. (...) I still remember. Denis was saying: 'Well, we should not be afraid... It is not because it is not like others, that we do not have to do like others, that we can not increase our standing either.' Therefore, why do we need to give medals? Because they give medals at the *Jeux de l'Ouest*? I was against the idea of awarding medals, but at the same time, I think it is too bad that we are again marginalizing these youths: 'You are different, you are not like the others.' During the teenage years, we want to be like others. You look at youths who are getting tattoos these days (...) We want to be different, but not at any price. And not too much. So, if the youth will return to school and say: 'Well, I was at the Francophone Games.' 'Well, did you win anything?' 'Well no, I won in my...' I understand his vision too. I think that it is an interesting debate. It is also a debate that deserves to be debated. But at the same time, I agree in the sense that no, we should not be afraid of saying: 'We do things differently. And, if you want to win a gold medal in volleyball or in track and field in the 100 m, here are all the institutions that can help you achieve that.'

organizing committee meeting report that organizers had prepared for the eventual debate that would undoubtedly occur at the upcoming General Council meeting:

> Reconnaissance des athlètes
> Un autre point qui suscite toujours beaucoup de débat est la question des médailles pour les athlètes individuels. Nous décidons d'allouer un bon 10 minutes pour ce débat lors de la réunion du Conseil général (pas plus!) Les commentaires suivants sont ressortis face à cette question:
> (...)
> - On pose la question à savoir comment les jeunes seront choisis pour participer aux Jeux de l'Ouest s'ils n'ont pas reçu de médailles? Nous conservons les statistiques de tous les athlètes alors il n'y a pas de problème...
> - La reconnaissance des athlètes se fera par le fait même qu'ils pourront participer aux Jeux de l'Ouest.
> - Les gagnants seront aussi reconnus dans le magazine Prochaine Vague où nous publions les résultats.
> - La philosophie des Jeux met l'emphase sur la participation et non la reconnaissance individuelle.[17] (SJFA, 1995f, p. 13).

The issue of medals was raised again during the planning process of the 1996 AFG. Two arguments were given to advocate the allocation of individual prizes: 1) youths had apparently complained that they were not receiving any souvenir of their achievement; 2) medals were given to winners of the Jeux de l'Ouest (Dallaire, 1996-1997). This time, rather than abiding by the founding maxim of not underlining individual performances, 1996 organizers introduced a change. They conceived of this change as a compromise between the two poles of the debate. The agreement reached called for the distribution of ribbons to the athletes who had finished in the top three ranks for each category in each discipline.

> Comme tu dis, c'est un point qui est débattu à toutes les années. La raison que finalement on donne des rubans c'est parce que des médailles vont être donnés aux Jeux de l'Ouest. Et il fallait garder un genre de cohérence ou être un petit peu semblable à ces Jeux. Et puis d'ailleurs, moi, si je caractérisais l'Alberta versus les autres provinces, et avec les Jeux pan-canadiens aussi, les Jeux sont différents partout...

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[17] "Athlete recognition
Another point that always generates a debate is the question of individual medals for athletes. We decided to allocate a good 10 minutes for this debate during the General Council meeting (no more!). The following comments came up regarding this issue:
(...)
- We ask the question about how youths will be chosen to participate in the *Jeux de l'Ouest* if they do not receive medals? We keep statistics of all athletes, so there is no problem...
- The recognition of athletes will be achieved by the fact that they will be allowed to participate in the *Jeux de l'Ouest*.
- The winners will also be identified in the magazine *Prochaine Vague* in which we publish results.
- The philosophy of the Games emphasizes participation over individual recognition."

> L'Alberta ça a toujours été beaucoup plus participatif qu'ailleurs. Moi, j'ai toujours fait du sport pour compétitionner et j'ai toujours beaucoup aimé ça. L'exemple que tu mentionne, c'est classique.[18]

> Je pense que les Jeux de l'Alberta ne sont pas nécessairement en danger de faire ça parce qu'on ne va jamais... C'est très peu probable que les Jeux deviennent une force au niveau compétitif, disons par rapport aux Alberta Games ou par rapport à n'importe quelle compétition qui se fait dans les sports.[19] (SJFA/Ej, 1997).[20]

The ribbons were color-coded to distinguish between the first, second and third rank. But participants were not informed of the rank each color represented since organizers wanted to avoid encouraging competition between youths (Dallaire, 1996-1997).

The decision to hand ribbons out to the best athletes was not unanimously endorsed. A member of the Administrative Council questioned this 1996 Steering Committee resolution:[21]

> Nous autres, on a toujours dit, jusqu'à l'année passée--parce que j'étais toujours sur le comité organisateur ou le conseil d'administration--qu'on ne voulait pas de rubans pour la simple raison que quand tu

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[18] In asking this organizer's opinion about the introduction of individual ribbons at the fourth AFG, I made a comparison between the changes occurring at the AFG and those McKay (1980) reported. In his analysis of Italian soccer clubs in London, McKay (1980) argued that the more competitive the clubs became, the more they adopted practices such as recruiting highly skilled but non-Italian players and shifting to speaking English rather than Italian. Such practices, according to McKay's study (1980) threatened the production of Italian identity through soccer.

[19] "As you say, this is a point that is debated every year. The reason why we finally give ribbons is because medals will be awarded at the *Jeux de l'Ouest* . And we had to keep some coherence or try to be a little similar to those Games. And besides, if I characterize Alberta compared to the other provinces, and to the pan-Canadian Games, the Games are different everywhere... Alberta has always been much more recreational than elsewhere. I have always done competitive sport and I have always liked it. The example you give is classic. I do not think that the AFG are necessarily in danger of doing the same thing since we will never... There is not much chance that the Games will become powerful in terms of sport competition, compared to the Alberta Games or to any sport competition."

[20] He is one of the rare organizers who questioned the assumed potential of the AFG to ever reach a high level of competitiveness. I myself am skeptical regarding some of the intentions of the sport agenda, such as the development of francophone athletes through the AFG and through the pan-Canadian Games who would represent Canada at the international *Jeux de la francophonie*. While I may think that some of the AFG objectives are perhaps unrealistic, this, however, does not mean that the Games could not achieve some of their modern sport objectives. For instance, they can realistically serve to introduce youths to organized and competitive sport, and they do in some ways contribute to the development of sport knowledge among francophones. Yet, the argument that the AFG could not become highly competitive, and that the production of francophoneness would not be compromised does not necessarily describe the practices I observed during my fieldwork. This will be discussed in section 6.3.3 in relation to the conflict between the sport and francophone agendas of the Games.

[21] What is interesting to note here is that a moment earlier during this interview, this organizer stated that the dual competitive and recreational objectives of the AFG failed. She personally preferred competitive sport (she had herself participated in competitive sports at the provincial level). Yet, she felt it was important to either respect the choices of the AFG founders who wanted to emphasize participation instead of victory, or change the by-laws of the SJFA. Her following quote shows that she had opted, at that time, for the adherence to the founding principles of the AFG.

> commences à donner des rubans, tu commences à dire: "Félicitations, tu es arrivé premier, deuxième, troisième." Qu'est-ce qui vient après les rubans? C'est les médailles. Ça se suit. Moi, je n'étais pas d'accord avec les rubans mais [les membres du] comité organisateur l'année passée ont dit: "Ça sera juste des rubans c'est pas comme des médailles. C'est juste pour les féliciter." Mais ça va à l'encontre de notre idée que c'est participatif et que tu compétitionne pour ton équipe. Les points vont à ton équipe et non pour toi. Depuis qu'on a des rubans, on a entendu que le comité organisateur cette année voulait des médailles. Si on ne leur donne pas de médailles cette année, l'année prochaine, le comité organisateur va probablement revenir demander les médailles. (...) Il y en a toujours qui vont questionner. Ça n'aide pas.[22] (SJFA/El, 1997).

Indeed, during the preparations for the fifth Games, the issue of medals came up again. At the March 1997 General Council meeting, a *chef de mission* argued that ribbons were worthless and that medals would be more meaningful to participants (Dallaire, 1996-1997). The president of the SJFA disagreed and asserted that the philosophy of the Games was to emphasize teamwork, hence the awarding of collective prizes. She explained that a compromise had been previously made to hand out ribbons recognizing that the top athletes had helped accumulate more points for their delegation. These ribbons, she added, were distributed unofficially, without any ceremony. In the end, organizers agreed to award ribbons, rather than medals, at the fifth Games.

The collective prizes also exemplified the simultaneous articulation of the excellence and participation discourses at the AFG. At the Olympics, no prize is officially granted to the country that accumulates the most medals, although the media and the participating countries undoubtedly attach much importance to the medal count (Wilson, 1988). By handing out collective prizes instead of individual medals, AFG organizers were proposing an alternative practice. However, two of these collective prizes were based on the sport results. The *Prix de la délégation*, in fact, simply did what has not, so far, been officially done at the Olympic Games: formally acknowledge the delegation/country with the highest score/medal count. In fact, organizers determined the winner of the delegation prize by attributing points, per competition and according to the rank obtained, to all participating youths. First, second and third place results, evidently, were worth more points than all other rankings which were simply worth lower participation points. The total score was calculated by summing up the points of all participants in a same delegation and the prize was awarded to the delegation that achieved the highest score (SJFA, 1996a). The *Prix de l'amélioration* was different in its

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[22] "We always said, until last year--because I was on the Steering Committee or on the Administrative Council--that we did not want ribbons for the simple reason that when you start awarding ribbons, you start saying: 'Congratulations, you have arrived first, second, third.' What comes after the ribbons? It is the medals. They follow each other. I did not agree with ribbons but [the members of] last year's Steering Committee said: 'It will just be ribbons, it is not like medals. It is just to congratulate them.' But that goes against our idea that the Games are recreational and that you compete for your team. The points go to your team, not to you. Since we have the ribbons, we have heard that this year's Steering Committee wanted medals. If we do not give them medals this year, next year the Steering Committee will probably return and ask for medals. (...) There will always be some people who will question. It does not help."

recognition of improvement rather than victory. To determine the winner of this award, organizers compared the delegations' total scores with their previous year's total score. The prize was awarded to the delegation that obtained the highest increase calculated on a percentage basis. Even if they recognized teamwork and also took into consideration the rate of participation (or one could say the size of the delegation), these prizes essentially promoted competitiveness and sporting excellence since they were granted according to sport performance and the improvement of sporting skills.

The other two awards did offer an alternative to the emphasis on sport performance. The *Prix de l'amitié* was originally meant to recognize friendliness and francophone pride[23] (FJA, 1992d). By the 1996 AFG, however, the francophone aspect of this prize had disappeared. Participants were only meant to vote for the delegation whose members had strongly collaborated with one another and who had been amicable throughout the sport competitions and other activities (SJFA, 1996a).[24] The second award, the *Prix du meilleur esprit sportif*, was introduced at the fourth Games and awarded by the sports officials to the delegation whose members had actively participated throughout the weekend and had manifested a sense of fair play during the competitions (SJFA, 1996a). These awards recognized friendliness and sportsmanship, values that are formally encouraged in Olympism, though at the same time arguably unendorsed (Donnelly, 1996). Yet, the awards constituted an alternative practice since they officially acknowledged the manifestation of these values.

The instability of the sport agenda between reproducing prolympism and encouraging participation and recreational principles was manifested throughout the process of staging the AFG. The recurring medal debate and the collective prizes are revealing examples of the complexity of the tensions between the sport discourses. These examples illustrate how organizers adopted a sport agenda produced in the excellence discourse. But they nonetheless modified dominant practices by introducing practices more consistent with the participation discourse. The francophone mandate of the AFG was the motivation for the adoption of practices produced in the participation discourse. Indeed, organizers felt that some of the values associated with prolympism, such as competitiveness and the focus on winning, would not encourage the promotion of francophoneness if they were overtly emphasized. The drive to promote francophoneness may have generated a modification of dominant sport practices, but it did not succeed in establishing an underlying sport structure nor in ensuring the adoption of strategies and organizational practices that unequivocally supported the francophone agenda. Even with the assistance of the francophone mandate, the participation discourse did not dominate the process of staging the AFG. Organizers have questioned dominant sport practices by awarding collective prizes rather than individual medals, but the introduction

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[23] Presumably by encouraging youths to speak in French?

[24] I asked two longtime organizers why the francophoneness criterion of the *Prix de l'amitié* had been eliminated. The first organizer was not aware of the change and considered it regrettable (SJFA/El, 1997). The second one did not either know of this change but he recalled discussions about a proposed prize for French. He explained that FJA, as a rule, refused to punish or reward the performance of French. The association preferred to encourage youths to speak in French because they wanted to as opposed to speaking French as a result of sanctions or rewards (SJFA/Ej, 1997). Hence, the decision not to institute a prize for French, and possibly, according to him, the reason why the criteria for the awarding of the friendship prize had changed.

of ribbons and the criterion for the delegation awards show that the participation discourse has not completely triumphed.

6.3.2 The AFG for linguistic or cultural francophones?

> [Le recrutement de participants dans les écoles d'immersion], je n'aime pas ça . Moi, je pense qu'il faudrait qu'ils choisissent quelles écoles d'immersion, et c'est toujours cette maudite affaire, la démocratie! (rires) [...] Ça complique les choses parce que si tu veux dire... On est pas mal hypocrite vraiment. Parce que même dans le temps de FJA: "C'est pour tous les jeunes d'expression française". *Bull shit* ! Comme oui, tu veux ça, mais pas trop. Tu veux que des jeunes d'immersion viennent mais que ça soit même moitié-moitié, *no damn way* ! Même un quart, je dirais que c'est trop. Parce que ce n'est pas juste pour le jeune d'immersion, non plus. Si tu as une cabane à sucre, que tous les jeunes viennent et qu'ils mangent juste la tireé *Okay*, si c'est ça [le but] *great*. Mais si le but c'est qu'ils vont aller dans une atmosphère francophone où les gens parlent français, et que tu as 90 jeunes d'immersion qui viennent (...) avec 10 jeunes [francophones] (...)? Ce n'est pas juste pour le jeune d'immersion non plus.[25] (FJA/Ed, 1997).

The second issue that marks the AFG is the discursive instability of francophoneness. I have already outlined the contest between the linguistic and cultural discourses in Chapter Five. What I wish to discuss here is the effect of the sport agenda on this discursive struggle. The example that best conveys the impact of sport on the conflict between linguistic and cultural definitions of francophoneness is the enduring debate concerning the selection of participants: Should the SJFA recruit among all French-speaking youths or should the Games be restricted to youths who speak French as a first language?

In most of their statements, organizers articulated the criteria of mother tongue as a way to discern between cultural and linguistic francophones. Organizers assumed that youths who fulfill the cultural criterion shared French as a first language. In other words, first-language participants were presumably of French Canadian origin, whereas participants who spoke French as a second/other language were not. The most recent version of the debate not only presumed a direct link between first language and cultural origins, it also infered that youths who spoke French as a first language and who shared

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[25] "I do not agree [with the recruitment of participants in immersion schools]. I think that they should choose in which immersion schools, and it is always this damn thing, democracy! (laughs) [...] It complicates things because if you want... We are real hypocrites. Even during the time of FJA: 'It is for all French-speaking youths.' Bull shit! Yes, you want that, but not too much. You want immersion youths to come, but that it would be half-and-half, no damn way! Even a quarter, I would say, is too much. Because it is not only for the immersion youth either. If you have a *cabane à sucre*, that all youths come and eat some *tire*, okay, if that is the [objective], great. But if the objective is that they will be in a francophone atmosphere where people speak French, and you have 90 immersion youths who come (...) with 10 [francophone] youths (...)? The purpose [of the AFG] is not just for immersion youths either."

the community's cultural heritage attended francophone schools. Those who learned French as a second or other language were assumed to be in French immersion programs.

But, as one of the founders explained, not all 'true' francophones attended francophone schools when the AFG were created--nor do they today. At the time, the issue of participant recruitment was articulated in terms of French Canadian youths versus French-speaking youths.

> Dans ce temps, il n'y avait qu'une ou deux écoles françaises. Le recrutement se faisait dans les communautés. N'importe qui qui s'intéressaient aux Jeux pouvaient participer. N'importe qui était bienvenu. Mais, c'est sûr, que nous, notre clientèle cible, c'était les francophones de souche. Mais, on n'était pas pour mettre un article 23 de la Charte des droits pour la participation.[26] On ne voulait pas faire ça [le recrutement] non plus dans les écoles parce que beaucoup de francophones à ce moment n'avaient pas choisi l'école, et encore aujourd'hui, comme moyen... Ce n'est pas accepté, ce fait--l'école homogène--pour bien du monde, pour la majorité. Nous, on est des extrémistes. On est 10% de la communauté, maximum. Donc, si on se limitait aux écoles francophones, on créait ce petit noyau de vase clos. Pour moi, c'est important de l'ouvrir, et essayer de laisser aux chefs de mission le jugement de sa délégation.[27] (FJA/Ea, 1997).

As this founder explains, the Games were open to all French speakers, youths of French Canadian origins were the genuine target of recruitment. However, recruitment practices eventually changed and a greater number of youths who spoke French as a second language took part in the Games.

> On a eu les deux premiers Jeux, la plupart c'était des francophones. Et là ça a changé. On acceptait plus d'anglophones qui parlaient français, supposément. Et là, nous avons commencé à voir que l'anglais commençait à dominer un peu. Un peu, pas mal. Nous nous sommes posé la question: "Qu'est-ce qu'on fait?" Mais, quoi? On ne pouvait

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[26] While AFG founders decided against adopting legal or federal definitions of francophoneness, natives have chosen such definitions to determine eligibility for various native sporting activities and events. Paraschack's (1990, 1997) studies of native sport practices such as the All-Indian tournaments and native leagues revealed that criteria for participation were often based on government definitions. For instance, eligibility was contingent on criteria such as: Indian status (vs. non-status Indians and Metis), living on a reserve (vs. off reserve) and having a federal band number. When the federal government adopted Bill C-31 in 1985 restoring Indian status to women who married non-native men, eligibility to sporting events was also modified to reflect this federal change of definition (Paraschak, 1990, 1997).

[27] "At that time, there was only one or two francophone schools. The recruitment was done in the communities. Whoever was interested in the Games could participate. Everyone was welcome. But, it was obvious that we targeted francophones *de souche*. But, we were not going to require the Section 23 of the Charter of rights for participation. We did not want to do it [the recruitment] in schools either since not many francophones at that time had chosen the school, and still today, as a means... Many people, the majority, do not accept the "homogenous" school. We are the extremists. We are, at the maximum, 10% of the community. So, by limiting ourselves to francophone schools, we would have created a little enclosed group. I felt it was important to open, to try to let the *chefs de mission* make the judgment for their own delegations."

> pas dire d'une année à l'autre: "Vous ne pouvez plus venir maintenant!" [...] Moi et [le président], on s'est évidemment parlé des Jeux, et ce que ça voulait dire, tout ça. Et en réunion du Conseil d'administration surtout on parlait de ce que ça voulait dire les Jeux. La grosse question c'était: "La quantité ou la qualité?" Et c'était divisé, incroyable. Oui, on veut avoir beaucoup de jeunes. Oui, on veut qu'ils parlent français. Bon. "Si vous voulez qu'ils parlent français, il n'y en aura pas beaucoup." Un des buts c'est d'augmenter et un des buts c'est de garder la qualité alors... Ça c'est divisé et ça va probablement l'être pour le restant de l'existence des Jeux. Qu'est-ce qu'on veut?[28] (SJFA/En, 1997).

Opening the AFG to all French-speaking teenagers served to include those who speak French as a second or other language and who presumably wanted to improve their use of French. Some organizers were predominantly inclined towards inclusiveness and they welcomed "francophiles" or "immersion" youths interested in the event. However, these advocates of extending the scope of participant recruitment were not necessarily arguing for the adoption of a linguistic definition of the francophone, although participant recruitment based on French language as opposed to culture did have the effect of officially producing linguistic definitions of francophoneness at the Games. Rather than being a decision primarily related to a belief that a francophone is a French speaker, their inclination towards truly extending recruitment to French immersion schools was, to a great extent, a result of their recognition that a good quality sport event presumably requires more competition, and their belief that this matters (if not to them, to the youth).[29]

Indeed, as the organizer in the above quote states, the debate was over the quantity vs. the quality of the francophoneness of participants. Organizers felt that a greater quantity of participants would, on the one hand, presumably increase the sport quality of the Games while, on the other hand, it would decrease the francophone quality of the Games. But holding a smaller event limited to 'real' francophones in a 'true' French environment was not as appealing to organizers--and to youths as we will see in the next Chapter--as staging larger Games open to all French-speaking youths. The bigger the Games were, the more they would gain sporting credibility and the more they would

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[28] "We had the first Games, most of them were francophones. And then, it changed. We accepted more anglophones who presumably spoke French. And then, we started noticing that English was dominating a little. A little, a lot. We asked ourselves: 'What do we do?' But, what? We could not say from one year to the next: 'You can not come anymore!' Zacharie and I, we obviously talked about the Games, and what they meant, all that. And at the meetings of the Administrative Council mostly, we talked about what the Games meant. The main question was: 'The quantity or the quality?' And it was really divided. Yes, we want a lot of youths. Yes, we want them to speak in French. Well. 'If you want them to speak French, there will not be many of them.' One objective was to grow and one objective was to preserve the quality so... It became divided and it will probably remain as such for the rest of the existence of the Games. What do we want?"

[29] There was also some evidence that the adoption of a linguistic definition of the francophone was also partly connected to the idea of national unity presented in Chapter Five, section 5.2.3. Opening the Games to all French speakers, including bilingual anglophones, was, on the one hand, viewed as a means to improve relationships between francophones and anglophones (SJFA/Ej, 1997; SJFA, 1994), and on the other hand, as a way to comply with government funding objectives (SJFA/Ef, 1996).

appear successful, since success was measured in terms of growth in participant numbers. As accepted wisdom in popular culture, larger Games were deemed more attractive and worthier. Indeed, bigger is better.

Organizers had originally hoped that the Games would eventually attract up to 1,000 to 1,500 participants. This figure, they estimated, would ensure the credibility of the AFG as a large-scale francophone sport event. However, they were aware that the population of students in francophone schools, those youths who presumably corresponded to the cultural definition, was not sufficient to achieve their goal of staging larger Games. To ensure the growth of the Games, they had to recruit participants among the French immersion student population.[30]

> [P]our nous-autres aussi, faut réaliser que, je veux dire, la population francophone est limitée. On ne grandit pas énormément disons. Alors, si on veut que les Jeux s'agrandissent et continuent à avoir de plus en plus d'athlètes, on ne peut pas non plus se limiter aux francophones. Ca ne marche pas. [31] (SJFA/Ed, 1996).

And growth was undoubtedly an important objective as expressed in the statements of organizers regarding their expectations for the AFG (1993d).

Opening to Games to all French speakers was also associated with the need to develop excellence since it was seen as a way to improve the level of sport competition.

> Et moi, je vois plus l'aspect sportif là-dedans. Évidemment, si on veut que les compétitions s'améliorent et que les jeunes... Ça deviennent comme des compétitions à un calibre assez élevé, comme c'est là dans certains sports c'est fort, et d'autres, c'est pas... Et il y a certaines zones mêmes qu'on voit que y sont beaucoup dedans. Et ils s'entraînent. Et ils sont bien impliqués et puis que, ils réussissent souvent généralement bien. Et puis que il y en a d'autres zones, disons, comme tu vois c'est des athlètes je dirais, récréatifs, comme tels. Alors, si on veut qu'ils s'améliorent, que ça devienne meilleur, le plus de gens que tu as, le plus que les gens veulent faire. Et avec la population limitée, que moi je dirais, ça fait que seulement les francophones c'est plus difficile. Avec des francophiles aussi des fois il y a des gens qui s'entraînent avec d'autres. Comme ils s'entraînent à l'extérieur de l'école ou comme ils sont des athlètes d'athlétisme disons. Et, ils viennent aux Jeux, et ça pousse les autres à mieux réussir. Ça c'est juste mon opinion. Et j'aimerais que les Jeux deviennent plus compétitifs et un calibre plus élevé. J'ai fait beaucoup de compétitions quand j'étais jeune alors moi j'aime ça, tout ça. Et je trouve que ça serait bien qu'on pourrait devenir d'un meilleur calibre. Je sais pas comment les autres... Alors si on

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[30] As reported earlier, 3,300 students attended francophone schools in 1997-1998 in comparison to 26,221 in French immersion programs (Alberta Education/E, 1999).

[31] "[...] for us too, we need to realize that, I mean, the francophone population is limited. We don't grow much, let's say. So, if we want the Games to get bigger and to continue attracting more and more athletes, we cannot either limit ourselves to francophones. It doesn't work."

> pouvait monter de calibre, et être aussi fort que les Jeux de l'Acadie, là ça serait possible. Et ça serait bien qu'on fasse les Jeux du Canada, éventuellement, qu'on aimerait bien que ça se passe là. Mais je pense que nous autres on a bien du travail à faire par rapport à nos athlètes.[32] (SJFA/Ef, 1996).

Recruiting larger delegations is also related to the importance of winning, another feature of the sport excellence discourse. One of the *chefs de mission* explained:

> Le but du jeu c'est d'avoir 80 jeunes et on est tout récompensés... Et on fait des espèces de pseudo-compétitions mais c'est pas compétitif. Mais, veut veut pas, ça l'est. Et le but du jeu, dans l'fond, c'est d'avoir la plus grande zone possible. Fermons les yeux sur qui qui vient et puis allons avec une grosse zone.[33] (SJFA/El, 1996).

Since the success of the AFG was measured in terms of number of participants, the *chefs de mission* who were considered the most successful were those who had the larger delegations. Furthermore, the bigger the delegation, the more points it could accumulate during the competitions, and the more chances it had of receiving the award for the delegation with the highest score or the award for most improved.

While the size of the Games has seemed to be more important than the francophone experience since the third AFG, this debate has not been resolved. Organizers were still concerned about the 'quality' of the linguistic ambiance of the Games.

> Qu'est-ce qu'on fait? Qu'est-ce qu'on fait avec le sacrifice de la quantité pour avoir la qualité où on tombe à 100 participants, même pas. Si on fait le sacrifice de la qualité on monte à 250, 300, 350 participants. Mais on a beaucoup de difficulté à garder le contenu francophone de la fin de semaine. Qu'ils se parlent en français en tout cas. Ça ne marche pas.[34] (SJFA/En, 1997).

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[32] "And I see more of the sporting aspect in that. Obviously, if we want the competitions to improve and youths to... The level of the competitions becomes high enough, like now in certain sports it is strong, in others it is not... And we see that some zones are really into it. And they train. And they are really involved and they generally succeed well. And there are other zones, where you see that the athletes were, I would say, really recreational. So, if we want them to improve, to becomes better, the more people you have, the better people want to do. And with the limited population, I would say that only francophones would be difficult. With francophiles also there are some people who train with others. Like they train outside of school or they are track and field athletes, for example. And then, they come to the Games and that pushes others to achieve more. That is just my opinion. And I would like for the Games to become more competitive with a higher level of performance. I did a lot of competitions when I was younger so I like that, all that. And I think that it would be good if we could improve our level of competition. I do not know how others... So if we could improve our level and become as strong as the *Jeux de l'Acadie* , then it would be possible. And it would be good that we made it to the *Jeux du Canada*, eventually, we would like it if it happened there. But I think that we have a lot of work to do with our athletes."

[33] "The point is to have 80 youths and we are all rewarded... And we do these pseudo-competitions but it is not competitive. But, whether you want it or not, it is. And the point, really, is to have the biggest zone possible. Let's close our eyes on who comes and let's go with a big zone."

[34] "What do we do? What do we do with the sacrifice of quantity for quality where we fall to 100 participants, not even. We sacrifice quality, we go up to 250, 300, 350 participants. But we have a lot of

To preserve the francophone character of the AFG, concerned organizers called for the importance of striking a balance between the number of 'true' francophones and other French speakers. The point was to prevent francophones from drowning in a pool of "immersion" students.

> Ça fait que tu as toujours un ballant entre, un ratio du montant des jeunes d'immersion qui viennent pour les nombres de francophones. À FJA, ça a toujours été la même chose. C'est pourquoi, je pense que si on voulait aller à toutes les écoles d'immersion, on aurait pas mal plus de monde dans nos activités. Et si on essaye de cibler cette clientèle, mais on ne l'a jamais trop crié fort. Quand quelqu'un d'une école d'immersion dit: "Ah, vous n'êtes jamais venu chez nous", tu ne leur dis pas que: *"Well there's a reason for it!"* On ne veut pas. "On ne veut pas que vous venez trop en grand nombre." On voudrait qu'il y ait des jeunes d'immersion qui viennent parce que ça les sensibilisent. Et ça sensibilise nos jeunes aussi. Mais, tu ne voudrais jamais trop un *overload*. Je trouve avec les Jeux, c'est qu'ils sont allés beaucoup trop loin à aller chercher des jeunes de l'immersion parce qu'ils veulent augmenter leurs nombres. Puis en partie, il font la promotion de ça et, c'est certain que certains des profs ou certains gens des communautés des écoles d'immersion voudraient que leurs jeunes participent à ça. Quand ils en entendent parler, ils embarquent et ils disent "Nous autres on se rend au Jeux." Mais moi, je ne pense pas que c'est une bonne idée. Je n'aime pas ça. Je trouve que c'est déjà assez difficile de faire parler les francophones en français. Et c'est possible. Mais là tu ajoutes l'élément d'immersion. Je trouve que c'est presque impossible que tous ces jeunes vont parler en français. C'est vrai que certains de ces jeunes d'immersion parlent plus français que les autres francophones. Mais les francophones ne parleront pas français quand même.[33] (FJA/Ed, 1997).

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difficulty in preserving the francophone content of the weekend. At least, that they talk to one another in French. It does not work."

[33] "So, there is always a balance between, the ratio of immersion youths that come and the number of francophones. At FJA, it has always been the same thing. That is why, I think that if we wanted to go to all immersion schools, we would have a lot more people in our activities. And if we tried to focus on that clientele, but we have never really stated it openly. When someone from an immersion school says: 'Eh, you never came to our school', you do not tell them 'Well, there's a reason for it!' We do not want to. 'We do not want you to come in too great a number.' We would want immersion youths to come because it would make them aware. And it makes our youths aware too. But you would never want an overload. I think that the Games have gone too far in recruiting immersion youths because they wanted to increase their numbers. And in part, they promote that, and it is sure that some teachers or certain people in the immersion schools' communities would want their youths to participate. When they hear about it, they jump in and say: 'We are going to the Games.' But, I do not think that it is a good idea. I do not like that. I think that it is already difficult enough to make the youths speak French. And it is possible. But then you add the immersion factor. I think that it is almost impossible that all those youths will speak French. It is true that some immersion students speak more French than other francophones. But the francophones will still not speak French."

But, as this organizer observed, the balance between francophone and immersion students was not necessarily reached. At the 1996 Games, some organizers again criticized the inclusion of "immersion" participants who "contaminated" the environment by threatening the quality of the French experience for 'true' francophone participants (SJFA/El, 1997).

Had the population of young French speakers of French Canadian origins been higher, I would argue that the cultural discourse would have probably prevailed and continued to govern, in practice, the recruitment of participants. As outlined in Chapter Five, the cultural discourse is still articulated in official programs and by organizers to describe francophoneness. It seems to be the spontaneous definition that they ascribe to francophone identity. Organizers do speak the linguistic discourse as well, but in a way that creates a hierarchy among French speakers and confirms the salience of cultural origins as the 'true' marker of francophoneness. The debate about the genuine target group of the Games, linguistic francophones or cultural francophones, has evidently been highly influenced by the sport agenda of the Games. The sport discourse about excellence has in fact sustained the articulation of eligibility requirements based on linguistic rather than cultural definitions of the francophone.

The production of the linguistic discourse at the site of the AFG was connected to the conditions of possibility I outlined in Chapter Five (section 5.3) such as the federal government regime of rights and the call for the re-construction of the francophone community as a multicultural community. Notwithstanding the influence of these factors, the principal motivation for the adoption of a linguistic definition that went as far as including participants that spoke French as second language was, however, the wish to stage a large-scale sport event. As in the case of other minority francophone institutions, such as francophone schools,[36] the inclusion of French speakers who are not of French Canadian parentage and/or who do not speak French a a first language was primarily meant to increase the number of members/students/participants. The relevance of the number of participants at the AFG was in large part due to the idea that the bigger a sport event is, the better it is.[37] Thus, because of the demographic characteristics of the francophone community in Alberta, the sport excellence imperatives had a considerable impact on the contest between the linguistic and cultural discourses.

6.3.3 Sport vs. francophoneness

> Au cours de cette activité, c'était d'avoir, d'assurer le bon déroulement mais aussi de promouvoir le français. Et puis c'est difficile. Souvent ces jeunes, c'est dans un milieu anglophone qu'ils demeurent. Ils arrivent ici et ils se parlent en anglais. Ça c'est difficile. Ça fait mal aux oreilles quand on l'entend. C'est difficile à contrôler. Et c'est difficile à arriver à des règlements durant la fin de semaine qui vont empêcher

[36] See Moreau's (1997) arguments in the francophone school debate about the inclusion of students that do not correspond to Section 23 of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms (Chapter Four, section 4.2.2.6).

[37] Funding issues are also related to the drive for higher participant numbers. Indeed, organizers can secure more government funding and attract more sponsorship money with bigger Games.

> ça, qui vont contrôler ça. Mais c'était un de nos buts. C'était de s'assurer que ça se passe en français.[38] (SJFA/En, 1997).

One of the greatest difficulties organizers faced in staging the AFG has been in finding ways to encourage the use of French among participating youths during the weekend event. The production of francophoneness was the impetus for creating these Games, but it was also the greatest challenge. The problem of finding strategies to promote francophone identity and community was compounded by the requirement to devote much time and effort into planning and organizing the sport program. Often, the imperatives of the sport agenda served to compromise the francophone agenda of the AFG. Thus, while sport was an effective means of attracting youths, it also proved to be, in practice, an activity that undermined the promotion of the 'francophone', even of the 'linguistic' francophone.

The sport agenda's dominance over the francophone agenda in commanding organizers' focus and actions became quite obvious throughout my fieldwork. Questions and issues associated with the technical, logistical and organizational aspects of the weekend related to staging a professional and successful event received most of the attention during meetings of the Administrative Council, the General Council and the Steering Committee (Dallaire, 1996-1997). Indeed, discussions about the francophoneness of the Games or about how to improve it were rare. For instance, during the February 1997 training session for *chefs de mission*, the SJFA leaders did not address the *chefs'* responsibility to instill a francophone atmosphere within their respective delegations and to encourage youths to speak French (Dallaire, 1996-1997). This subject was discussed only when I raised it at the end of the day. At the first General Council for the 1997 AFG, Falher organizers did discuss the issue of the difficulty of encouraging the use of French among youths and they did stress the importance of recruiting the youths most likely to speak French rather than the best athletes (Dallaire, 1996-1997). Nevertheless, the rest of the meeting was devoted to discussing administrative, technical, organizational and sporting issues. There was never any exercise aimed at thinking of ways and strategies to improve the francophoneness of the Games.

The sport agenda consistently drew more attention than the francophone agenda throughout the process of staging the AFG. For instance, time and energy were spent on planning and organizing the sport program and on improving the logistical and organizational aspects of the Games whereas policies regarding the use of French among participants were not implemented and no comprehensive strategy to encourage youths to speak French was discussed. In addition, organizers' evaluations of the AFG presented many recommendations regarding the sport, management, organizational, technical and logistical aspects of the event. However, they offered comparatively few comments about the francophoneness of the Games (JFA, 1993g; SJFA, 1996n, 1996q). Even the members of the Falher Steering Committee, who had stated their wish to

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[38] "During this activity, it was to ensure the efficient course of events but also to promote French. And it is difficult. These youths often live in an anglophone environment. They come here and they speak English. That is difficult. It bothers you when you hear this. It is really difficult to control. And it is difficult to make up regulations that will prevent that, that will control that. But it was one of our objectives. To make sure that it would be in French."

improve the francophoneness of the Games, were caught between their dual francophone and sport objectives. Indeed, a few weeks before the 1997 Games, I asked one of the Falher organizers how she thought the AFG promoted the use of French among participants. She answered:

> Ça, c'est une autre affaire! (rires) Ça, ça été, moi, personnellement je trouve que ça a toujours été un effort de comité organisateur. Je pense que dans leurs préoccupations, il n'y a jamais rien qui a été fait vraiment pour travailler là-dessus: au niveau de la publicité, au niveau de l'affichage, au niveau de l'encouragement, de tout ça. Mais, je suis sûr que cela a été dans leurs préoccupations. Ça a été dans leurs préoccupations, mais c'est difficile de mettre sur pied quand tu as tout l'aspect sportif-culturel a étudier. Cette année, on le sait que c'est une composante importante. On veut faire quelque chose. Bon, on va tu le faire à cause du temps et tout ça? Mais le vouloir est là. Avec les parrains, marraines, l'affichage, je veux essayer d'avoir un comité qui va s'occuper de cela. Mais c'est sûr que c'est un point qui n'est pas facile mais l'encourager au niveau...[39] (SJFA/Eb, 1997).

Even though they had specified that they wanted to improve the francophone environment of the AFG, Falher organizers were faced with the problem of limited human and financial resources. Regardless of their stated aim to create a 'true' francophone event, whether they focused on linguistic or cultural definitions or both, the organization of the sport program remained the priority of the Falher Steering Committee, just as other Steering Committees before them had first given their attention to the sport component of the AFG. It was only once the sport competitions were planned that organizers devoted attention to the overall francophone environment of the weekend. Indeed, Falher organizers considered that gaining sport credibility was important:

> Mais c'est important. Je pense qu'il faut une crédibilité au niveau du sport, parce qu'on n'attira plus les jeunes si on n'est pas plus crédible. Il faut quand même dire qu'il y a de la compétion, faut qu'il y en aille. Les jeunes sont contents d'aller compétionner, surtout les 16-18 ans. Eux quand ils vont au volleyball, ils veulent vraiment compétioner.[40] (SJFA/Eb, 1997).

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[39] "That is another thing! (laughs) That has been, personally I find that it has always been an effort of the Steering Committee. I think that in their concerns, nothing much has ever been done to work on that: at the publicity level, at the level of the postings, at the motivation level, all that. But I am sure that it was part of their concerns, but it is difficult to put in place when you have the whole sport-cultural aspect to study. This year, we know that it is an important component. We want to do something. But, in light of time constraints, will we do it? But the will is there. With the hosts and hostesses, the postings, I want to have a committee that will take care of that. But it is sure that it is a point that is not easy to encourage at the level..."

[40] "But it is important. I think we need credibility at the sport level, because we will not attract youths if we are not more credible. There is some competition, there has to be some. Youths are happy to compete, specially the 16-18 year old participants. When they play volleyball, they really want to compete"

This Falher organizer believed that an equal amount of work should be put in pursuing the francophone agenda compared to the sport agenda. However, when I asked her if the Falher organizers had achieved this, she admitted that despite their best intentions, it was difficult to reach a balance--but they were still hoping to:

> Ça dépend. En ce moment, bien, parce que on a eu des difficultés par rapport à notre côté culturel parce que quelqu'un qui était là est parti. Et donc le sport a pris plus de place. Mais là on a quand même, on sait que c'est important. Donc on est allé engager quelqu'un pour vraiment, pour le dernier mois. Donc, il a de l'importance. Donc, je pense qu'il faut lui donner autant d'importance mais c'est les situations qu'on a vécu depuis le début qui font que le sport a été plus fort. Mais ça ne veut pas dire qu'on a lâché le culturel, au contraire. Donc ça va être fort. On veut avoir un côté culturel fort. Plus fort que les autres années. On essaye ça nous autres cette année.[41] (SJFA/Eb, 1997).

During an interview with a longtime organizer, I commented that in all the General Council meetings I had attended before and during the 1996 Games, especially the late night meetings during the event, questions and issues concerning sport had dominated the proceedings. Even if there were obvious problems concerning the francophone character of the event, practically no time had been spent discussing such concerns. She explained that it was true that the francophoneness of the AFG had perhaps been neglected over the years. She suggested that once organizers had developed the organizational, management and sport expertise, the francophone agenda would receive more attention:

> Je dirais qu'avec les années, à mesure qu'on a de plus en plus de Jeux, au moins ceux qui sont sur le conseil d'administration ou ceux qui y ont déjà siégé, deviennent plus compétent ou un peu meilleur dans le domaine du sport pour faire l'organisation du sport. Ça devient moins compliqué. Au début, et même encore des fois, c'est la panique et le soir on parle toujours de ça. Cette année avec le conseil d'administration et le comité organisateur complètement divisés, le comité organisateur s'occupe plus du sport et le conseil d'administration essaie de plus en plus de faire des... Comme je sais qu'on travaillait plus sur la politique culturel, étiquette culture. On essaie de mettre plus d'emphase sur le côté culturel au lieu du sport. Parce que le sport c'est vrai que c'est compliqué, ça prend beaucoup d'organisation. Et dans le fond, en partie, les jeunes sont là pour compétitionner. On essaye de mettre des activités culturelles et insérer

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[41] "It depends. At the moment, well, because we had difficulties with our cultural aspect since someone who was taking care of it left. And thus sport has taken more space. But now we still have, we know that it is important. So, we have hired someone to really, for the last month. So it has some importance. So, I think that we have to give it as much importance but the circumstances we have experienced from the beginning made sport the stronger aspect. But that does not mean that we have given up on the cultural aspect, it is the opposite. So, it will be strong. We want to have a strong cultural aspect. Stronger than previous years. We are trying that this year."

> ça pour justement sensibiliser les jeunes, parce qu'on utilise le sport comme moyen. Mais des fois, je pense que dans le passé, la culture a comme glissée un tout petit peu. C'est dommage, mais j'espère qu'avec les années si on a plus d'expérience, et puis si on peut développer des outils ou un guide même pour le comité organisateur, ça devient moins compliqué pour eux de faire l'organisation du sport. Et le conseil d'administration peut se concentrer sur les choses culturelles, soit mettre une politique de francisation ou quelque chose comme ça pour s'assurer que le côté culturel ne soit pas perdu au sport.[42] (SJFA/Em, 1997).

Despite this vision that the Administrative Council would focus on policies, the wish to stage a 'professional' event led its members towards the preparation and production of various tools to support and improve various technical, administrative and organizational tasks. As mentioned in Chapter Five, the Administrative Council had briefly considered creating a cultural committee that would focus on the following question: "Quelle doit être la proportion pour qu'il y ait équilibre durant la fin de semaine et quels sont les moyens de promouvoir d'une part la langue, d'autre part la culture et enfin le sport."[43] (SJFA, 1996h). This provincial committee would have been responsible for suggesting how to balance the francophone and sport agendas in addition to formulating a cultural policy for the AFG. But, it was never created since organizers felt other issues were more pressing.

Organizers generally agreed with me that the sport agenda was dominating the process of staging the AFG. One of the reasons they devoted so much time to planning and preparing the sport program was related to the importance of gaining sporting credibility to attract youths:

> Maintenant, la raison que je pense qu'il est important de mettre beaucoup d'efforts, les raisons pour lesquelles on passe tellement de temps sur le tournoi sportif, l'horaire, la logistique, c'est que pour que les jeunes soient intéressés à l'activité, pour qu'ils veulent venir et participer, il faut que se soit une activité de qualité. Il faut que se soit

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[42] "I would say that with the years, as we stage more and more Games, at least those that are on the Administrative Council or those that have already been a part of it, become more competent or a little better in organizing sport. It becomes less complicated. At the beginning, and still sometimes now, it is the panic and at night we always talk about that. This year with the complete separation of the Administrative Council and the Steering Committee, the Steering Committee focuses more on sport and the Administrative Council tries to gradually do more... I know that we are working more on the cultural policy, cultural etiquette. We are trying to put more emphasis on the cultural aspect rather than sport. Because sport is really complicated, it requires a lot of organization. And really, youths are, in part, there to compete. We try to organize cultural activities and insert them to make youths aware, because we use sport as a means. But sometimes, I think, that in the past culture has slid a little. It is unfortunate, but I hope that with years, if we get more experience, and if we can develop tools or a guidebook even for the Steering Committee, it becomes less complicated for them to organize sport. And the Administrative Council can concentrate on cultural things, either add a policy for the *francisation* or something like that to ensure that the cultural aspect is not lost to sport."

[43] "What should be the proportion that would ensure a balance throughout the weekend and what are the means to promote, on the one hand, language, on the other hand, culture, and finally sport."

> un bon événement. Alors, ça veut dire qu'il faut que ce soit bien fait. Donc, ça prend beaucoup de temps, beaucoup d'énergie.[44] (SJFA/Ej, 1997).

A second reason why more effort was put into pursuing the sport agenda was that problems with the tournaments, schedule or technical issues, for example, were easier to solve than the problem of the widespread use of English among youths:

> [S]i on regarde en question de priorité, quand on évalue nos statuts et règlements, quand on évalue nos buts, on insiste toujours que la raison d'être des Jeux c'est pour promouvoir le fait français. Quand on prépare le budget, on dit qu'il faut accorder de l'importance au secteur culturel. On ne veut pas couper dans le secteur culturel. On est prêt à dépenser notre argent là-dessus et d'avoir un gros show. On regarde aux Hardis Moussaillons: on a dépensé, habituellement pour un auditoire de, je sais pas--200 personnes... Jamais de la vie qu'on se permettrait de louer de l'équipement de même, de faire un gros show... Ça n'a vraiment pas de bon sens si tu parles seulement d'un spectacle, mais c'est une priorité. Puis, je pense que c'est un peu qu'on ne sait pas comment ... On est prêt à investir, on dit que c'est une priorité, mais on ne sait pas comment adresser le problème. Je ne pense pas qu'il y a personne qui va pouvoir nous dire comment adresser ça facilement non plus. [...] Comme je dis, quand on parle de logistique dans les réunions, et des compétitions... C'est un peu la nature humaine, ou j'sais pas trop quoi, de régler les problèmes qu'on est capable de régler et qu'on est conscient. Okay, on va discuter pendant une heure et demi de temps entre onze heures et minuit et demi, on est aussi bien d'accomplir quelque chose (rires!) [...] On est aussi bien de s'assurer que le tournoi, essayer que le tournoi fonctionne bien. Si on discute pendant une heure et demie au sujet de comment on fera que les jeunes parlent français, bien, c'est pas évident que les jeunes vont parler plus français le lendemain. C'est pas mal certain que ça ne va pas faire rien pour que ça change la façon que les jeunes réagissent.[45] (SJFA/Ek, 1996).

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[44] "Now, the reason I think it is important to put a lot of effort, the reasons why we put so much time on the sport tournament, the schedule, logistics, is that for youths to be interested in the activity, for them to want to come and participate, it has to be a quality activity. It has to be a good event. So, that means that it has to be well run. So, it takes a lot of time, a lot of energy."

[45] "[I]f we look at the question of priority, when we evaluate our statutes and regulations, when we evaluate our objectives, we always insist that the reason for being of the Games is the promotion of French. When we prepare the budget, we say that we give some importance to the cultural sector. We do not want to cut in the cultural sector. We are ready to spend our money on that and to have a big show. Look at the *Hardis Moussaillons*: we spent, normally for an audience of, I do not know--200 people... Never would we allow ourselves to rent such equipment, to do such a big show... It really makes no sense if you talk of a single show, but it is a priority. And, I think that it is also that we do not know... We are ready to invest, we say that it is a priority, but we do not know how to address the problem. I do not think anyone will be able to tell us how to solve this problem in an easier way either. [...] As I say, when we talk about logistics during the meetings, and about the competitions... It is in some way part of human nature, or I do not know

Organizers were willing to spend a large amount of money on the cultural program to present a French language concert, but they were not spending time during the meetings to discuss the issue (Dallaire, 1996-1997). They intended to create an overall exciting ambiance at the Games that would encourage youths to speak French and to feel a strong community feeling but they were not looking into strategies to do so or inquiring how other francophone associations elsewhere in Canada dealt with this challenge. It was a problem that preoccupied them, but despite their being some evidence of suggestions to improve the achievement of the francophoneness of the Games, such as getting an *animateur de foule* and a special team of volunteers to create a lively francophone atmosphere, they were not devoting as much time and effort to solve it as they were putting into solving sporting and logistical problems. (Dallaire, 1996-1997, SJFA, 1996a; SJFA/Eb, 1997). They were throwing money at it and turning to the issues they felt they could "fix" on a short-term basis: sport and management issues.

I would suggest that, as noted in Chapter Five, one of the reasons they were unable to think of ways to promote francophoneness was that they associated francophoneness with French Canadian history and traditions. For example, another organizer explained that youths were interested in sport, but they were not interested in educational workshops:

> Je pense que le sport est un moyen d'aller chercher les jeunes. Et par rapport à la culture, c'est difficile: "Venez assister à des ateliers sur la langue française". Tu sais, les jeunes sont moins attirés. C'est moins attrayant pour les jeunes de venir s'asseoir et d'écouter quelqu'un qui va parler de l'histoire de la langue française. Je dirais que c'est moins attrayant. Moi, je trouve que le sport, c'est plus le moyen qu'on utilise pour aller chercher les jeunes afin de participer à des activités qui intègrent la culture française.[46] (SJFA/Em, 1997).

What is most interesting in this organizer's explanation of why francophoneness is difficult to promote, is her spontaneous example of what a cultural activity could possibly be at the AFG: a lesson on the history of the French language! As I argued in Chapter Five, organizers think of culture in terms of past practices. Yet, they do provide some contemporary cultural activities at the Games, such as an evening concert and/or French language entertainment. They do not, however, conceive of these activities as part of the culture that defines their identity. As outlined in Chapter Five, promoting culture at the

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what, to solve the problems we are able to solve and that we are aware of. Okay, if we will discuss for an hour and a half, between eleven o'clock and twelve thirty, we might as well accomplish something (laughs!) [...] We might as well make sure that the tournament, try to make sure the tournament is well run. If we discuss for an hour and a half about how we will try to get the youths to speak French, well, it is not sure that they will speak more French the next day. It is quite certain that it will not change how youths react."

[46] "I think that sport is a means to attract youths. And in relation to culture, it is difficult: 'Come attend workshops on French language.' You know, youths are not as attracted. It is less attractive for youths to come sit and listen to someone who talks about the history of French language. I would say that it is less attractive. I think that sport is the means we use to attract youths so that they participate in activities that integrate French culture."

AFG would instead, according to them, imply the promotion of French Canadian traditional music, food and other cultural traits. But organizers presume that youths are not interested in such things, at least not in the context of the AFG. Hence, their reticence to promote what they conceive of as cultural activities that define francophoneness and their continuing difficulties in re-thinking their strategies to produce a sense of community and of francophone pride.

Throughout my fieldwork, I have noticed that the *chefs de mission* who have not been raised in Alberta were the organizers who expressed the most concern over the 'quality' of the francophone experience. In fact, organizers born in Quebec or elsewhere and who have lived in contexts where francophones are the majority were the most shocked and perturbed by the widespread use of English among teenagers.

> Moi, ce qui m'avait frappé en arrivant ici en Alberta, c'est de voir un couple francophone, totalement francophone, avec des enfants qui ont de la difficulté à parler français. Avec un gros accent. Ça, ça m'a frappé. J'en étais quasiment bouleversé. Et je me suis dit: "C'est dommage. C'est grave." C'est des jeunes que leurs parents sont là, qui forcent leurs enfants, les enfants veulent pas. C'est une bataille constante. Et un peu plus tard, tu rencontres plein de monde qui ont des noms francophones et qui ne savent pas un mot français. Qui ont perdu leur culture. Moi j'ai trouvé ça épouvantable. Je trouve que c'est important de montrer à ces jeunes, parce qu'ils ne le réalisent pas quand ils sont jeunes, que oui, ils peuvent avoir du plaisir. Et oui, le français c'est bien. Oui, c'est important. Oui, ils vont avoir du plaisir. Et, ça peut être le fun aussi. Ce n'est pas juste l'école, ce n'est pas juste du travail.[47] (SJFA/Ea, 1996).

However, once on the Steering Committee or the Administrative Council, organizers from Quebec, like organizers from Alberta, became so focused on the technical, logistical and organizational tasks, that they did little to address the problems concerning the francophoneness of the Games. Conversely, the *chefs de mission* were responsible for ensuring the use of French within their delegation. Those who had recently arrived in Alberta and who were new to the AFG were usually those most concerned by the fact that French did not appear to be spoken among the members of some delegations. This, they felt, was undermining the overall francophone environment (Dallaire, 1996-1997). Organizers born and raised in Alberta were familiar with the linguistic practices of French-speaking teenagers and were thus not surprised by the considerable presence of English during the weekend. They may have expected youths to speak in English, but they were also concerned by it, albeit to a lesser degree than the organizers from Quebec or elsewhere.

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[47] "What struck me when I arrived in Alberta was to see a francophone couple, totally francophone, with children who had difficulty speaking in French. With a huge accent. That struck me. It almost distressed me. And I told myself: 'It is unfortunate. It is serious.' They are youths whose parents are there, forcing their children, the children do not want to. It is a constant struggle. And later, you meet a lot of people who have francophone names but who know not a word of French. They have lost their culture. I found that awful. I think that it is important to show these youths, because they do not realize it when they are young, that yes, they can have fun. And yes, French is okay. Yes, it is important. Yes, they will enjoy it. And yes, it can be fun too. It is not just school, it is not just work."

Another example of the primacy of the sport discourse is found in cases when more youths showed an interest in the Games than there were available places on a delegation. In at least two such cases, the *chefs de mission* and/or coaches selected participants on the basis of sports skills rather than on the ability or susceptibility to speak French throughout the weekend event (Dallaire, 1996-1997; Jean Côté/E, 1997). In another kind of example, English speakers officiated the volleyball tournament at the 1996 AFG. Organizers chose to follow sporting standards and provide officials who were certified by the provincial volleyball association rather than ensuring a French-speaking environment. At the time, no French-speaking certified volleyball officials had been available. After the 1996, the SJFA did take the initiative to provide French language certification and by the 1999 Games in Edmonton they hired French-speaking officials. But the point here is that when faced with the decision of choosing between the sport agenda and the francophone agenda, 1996 organizers opted for the achievement of the sport agenda.

These examples demonstrate that the sport agenda did conflict with the francophone agenda of the AFG, even if some organizers believed the AFG would never become highly competitive (FJA/Eb, 1997; SJFA/Ej, 1997). The emphasis on sport excellence was sufficient to generate practices that lead the AFG away from the production of francophoneness. In this sense, sport competitiveness had the same effects on the AFG that Day (1981), McKay (1980) and Walter, Brown and Grabb (1991) found it had on the promotion of cultural identities in ethnic soccer clubs in Toronto and in London. It is noteworthy perhaps, that none of these organizers have been as successful as the organizers of the Northern Games in challenging dominant sport practices. While modern organized sport has influenced the staging of the Northern Games, Paraschak's (1991, 1997) studies show that native organizers have been able to contest the emphasis on winning and the adherence to sport governing bodies' regulations, and to emphasize the cultural aspects of these Games.

Sport has played a contradictory role in producing the 'francophone' in the context of the AFG. It has, on the one hand, sustained the production of francophone identity by consolidating organizers' own francophoneness, by contributing to the institutional completeness of the community, by providing a place for the gathering of young French speakers where they could "have fun in French". On the other hand, the production of the sport excellence discourse at times competed with the establishment of a francophone environment at the AFG when non-French speakers officiated the volleyball tournament, when the best athletes were chosen rather than the more 'francophone' participants, when organizers efforts were dedicated to the pursuit of sport objectives to the detriment of the francophone agenda.

AFG organizers were dealing with a relatively small francophone community. While they articulated a linguistic discourse that opens the membership of this community to all French speakers, they also produced a cultural discourse that creates categories of francophones where French Canadian descendants are more 'francophone' than others. In Alberta, this 'core' francophone membership is inadequate to stage a large-scale competitive sport event. Without the necessary human resources and the sport expertise within the community, organizers can not produce a sport event and expect that it will unproblematically contribute to community building. The founders of the Games were aware of the dangers of competitiveness. To produce francophone

identity through sport, AFG organizers have had to, and I would argue should further, transform organized sport to better achieve the francophone agenda that originally led to the creation of the Games. Sport is not necessarily a threat to francophone minority identities, but at the AFG one form of sport, prolympism, is produced in a way that undermines the production of the 'francophone'. This is why organizers should adopt alternative forms of sport. It is crucial for organizers to ensure the distinctiveness, in other words the francophoneness, of the Games if they wish to use sport to promote francophone identity.

6.4 What defines "success" at the AFG?

The three principal issues that mark and characterize the AFG are produced by the discursive instability of the francophone and sport agendas. Organizers are attempting their best to achieve the mission of the SJFA, but they are working within a context of discursive chaos. The conflicting discourses that frame the AFG act on the definition of what constitute successful Games. Even though they were created in order to provide a context where youths could play sports "in French", thus enacting their francophone identity and confirming their belonging to the francophone community, the AFG are not evaluated according to this objective. Only one organizer I spoke with referred to the original vision for the Games to discuss their impact:

> Est-ce que les Jeux ont eu du succès? Oui, ils en ont eu quand même. Moi, je sais que les jeunes qui ont été aux Jeux de l'Acadie... Je suis encore en contact avec certain d'eux autres. Eux autres, ils recherchent encore les Jeux de l'Acadie à travers nos Jeux. Ils n'ont pas trouvé et il y a de leurs parents qui se sont impliqués dans les Jeux ici [à Falher] parce qu'ils ont vu ce que leurs jeunes ont vécu et ils voudraient que ça revienne à ça. (...) On a eu certains succès. Il y a eu des éléments. Mais on n'a pas réussi a allumer le feu sacré. Le logo des Jeux, le feu en arrière, ce n'est pas juste la flamme: c'est le feu sacré! C'est comme ça que ça été pensé. (...) On n'a pas réussi encore à faire ça. Peut-être dans quelques [participants] par exemple. (...) Moi, j'ai le sentiment qu'on n'a pas réussi. Et tant qu'on n'aura pas la communauté là, tant qu'on aura pas le support des parents, on n'aura rien accompli.[48] (FJA/Ea, 1997).

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[48] "Have the Games been successful? Yes, they had some success. I know that the youths who went to the *Jeux de l'Acadie*... I am still in contact with some of them. They are still looking for the *Jeux de l'Acadie* through our Games. They have not found it and some of their parents got involved with the Games here [in Falher] because they saw what their children experienced and they would like it to come back to that. (...) We had a certain success. There were some elements. But we have not succeeded in igniting the sacred flame. The logo of the Games, the flame at the back: it is the sacred flame! That is how it was conceived. (...) We have not been able to do that yet. Maybe in a few [participants]. (...) I have the feeling that we have not succeeded. And until we have the community there, until we have the support of the parents, we will not have accomplished anything."

This organizer had been the *chef de mission* of the Western delegation to the 1991 *Jeux de l'Acadie*. He was one of the founders of the AFG, had been involved in the organization of the first three editions of the Games and had joined the Falher Steering committee. Furthermore, this individual, as a longtime employee of FJA and the ACFA, was professionally involved in francophone community building. Throughout his involvement as an AFG organizer, he constantly focused on the francophone agenda.

But he was the exception. In most cases, organizers used other criteria to determine the success of the AFG. They purposefully steered away from using the performance of French to assess the Games:

> Je pense, si on insistait à dire: "Okay, est-ce que les Jeux se sont passés en français? Est-ce que les jeunes sont maintenant plus fiers?" Là tu dirais non, ce n'est pas un succès. Mais je pense que ce ne sont pas les mesures qu'on utilise... Selon moi, ça ne devrait pas être les mesures qu'on utilise.[49] (SJFA/Ee, 1996).

In fact, one organizer actually stated that he expected youths would speak in English during the weekend event. He hoped however that their experience at the AFG would help them realize the importance of speaking in French, perhaps two or three years down the road (FJA/Ed, 1997). Others explained that the mix of "francophone" and "immersion" youths made it difficult for participants to speak French, thus the Games should not be evaluated on the basis of their linguistic practices (SJFA/Eh, 1996; SJFA/Ef, 1996). According to them, the fact that these youths had wanted to attend the event was already a measure of its success. For instance, one organizer made the following comment:

> C'est un petit peu difficile de compter sur le succès des Jeux quand on veut que tous les participants parlent en français. Dans le sens où on ne s'adresse pas seulement à des francophones. On s'adresse à des francophiles aussi. Est-ce que ces jeunes-là sont capables de vivre en français toute une fin de semaine? Est-ce qu'ils ont un niveau assez élaboré au niveau du langage français pour se débrouiller toute une fin de semaine? Je pense que c'est là aussi qu'il faut se poser la question. (...) Je pense que ça devient difficile. Je pense que certainement les englober de français, je pense que c'est un de nos objectifs principaux. Puis déjà qu'ils soient là pour toute une fin de semaine puis qu'ils s'inscrivent pour aller à des disciplines en français, à des activités culturelles en français et tout ça, je pense que c'est déjà un gros plus. C'est sûr que, idéalement, ça serait que tout le monde parle français, mais moi je veux dire: "Oui, je ne sais pas comment faire".[50] (SJFA/Eh, 1996).

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[49] "I think that if we insist to say: 'Okay, were the Games held in French? Are the youths prouder now?' you would say no, it was not a success. But I do not think those are the criteria we use... I do not think those are the criteria we should use."

[50] "It is a little difficult to count on the success of the Games when we want all participants to speak in French. In the sense that we are not only talking of francophones. The Games are also for francophiles. Are those youths capable to live in French a full weekend? Do they have a sufficiently elaborate level of

The AFG were thus evaluated according to criteria other than their francophoneness. A few organizers stressed that the Games were a success because the participants developed friendships with other French-speaking youths, they enjoyed the Games and expressed the wish to return (SJFA/Ef, 1996; SJFA/Eh, 1996; SJFA/En, 1996). But the most obvious and common criterion organizers used to judge the success of the Games was their organizational effectiveness:

> Tu peux te baser sur plusieurs différentes choses. Tu peux te baser juste en évaluant ton activité: la qualité, est-ce qu'il y a eu assez d'athlètes, il y avait une représentation de partout, toutes ces choses. Et je pense que c'est important ces choses. Je pense que, quand je parlais de légitimité, c'est une activité crédible, qui est une bonne activité et qui répond aux besoins. Et que c'est un bon tournoi de soccer. (...) Est-ce que c'est un succès par rapport à ce qu'on a ... Est-ce qu'on a changé un jeune avec les Jeux? Bien ça, c'est évidemment plus difficile. Je ne sais pas si il y a quelqu'un dans le monde qui a réussi à bien évaluer des facteurs comme ça.[51] (SJFA/Ee, 1996).

> Quand j'avais répondu (...) que c'était un succès, il y avait deux niveaux. Au niveau organisationnel, ça [la quatrième édition des Jeux] a été un grand succès. Il y avait une amélioration incroyable des années précédentes, à tous les niveaux de l'organisation. Alors, au niveau logistique, par exemple... Bien, l'organisation des tournois, mon dieu: tu avais des horaires; tu avais des organisateurs; tu avais des bénévoles; l'horaire était respecté. Tout le monde savait ce qu'ils devaient faire alors... Au niveau médical, mon dieu seigneur: on avait de l'équipement; on avait des gens en premiers soins; on avait l'hôpital. Il y avait un lien qui avait été fait avec l'hôpital, ils nous attendaient. Il y avait eu des ententes prises au niveau marketing. Pour la première fois il y a eu un logo. Il y a eu beaucoup de démarches qui ont été prises avec les entreprises locales de la communauté hôte, St. Albert, pour démontrer, pour préparer la communauté à l'arrivée des Jeux. Avec les écoles... En tout cas, à tous les niveaux il y a eu des démarches qui ont été entreprises, qui ont bâti soit sur les années précédentes, ou qui ont même faites de nouvelles choses. Alors, au niveau organisationnel et

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French to be able to sort themselves out a whole weekend? I think that is also the question we need to ask. (...) I think that it becomes difficult. I think that certainly one of our principal objectives is to surround them with French. And already that they are there for a weekend and that they register to attend competitions in French, to cultural activities in French and all that, I think that is a big plus. It is sure, that ideally, it would be that everyone speaks French, but I want to say: 'Yes, I do not know how to do it.'"

[51] "You can base yourself on many different things. You can evaluate your activity based on: the quality, was there enough athletes, was there a representation of all the regions, all those things. And I think that these are important things. I think that, when I was referring to its legitimate aspect, it is an activity with credibility, a good activity and it answers the needs. And it is a good soccer tournament. (...) Is it a success in terms of what we... Have we changed a youth through the Games? Well, that is obviously more difficult. I do not know if there is anyone in the world who has succeeded in efficiently evaluating such factors."

> logistique, ça a été une amélioration à 100%. Puis cette amélioration, au niveau organisationnel, a fait que les participants, que ça soit les athlètes ou les bénévoles, ont vécu une expérience formidable. Une expérience qui mériterait d'être répétée parce qu'ils sont arrivés dans une atmosphère ordonnée, dans une atmosphère organisée, dans une atmosphère... Ce n'était pas le chaos total. Ce n'était pas la zizanie. La zizanie ne régnait pas, c'était organisé. Alors les jeunes et les bénévoles ont pu arriver puis jouir de leur fin de semaine. Ils n'avaient pas besoin de s'inquiéter: "Mon Dieu, on vas-tu manger? Si je me fais mal, il va y avoir quelqu'un pour prendre soin de moi? Si j'ai besoin d'un téléphone, je vais pouvoir téléphoner ma mère à quatre heures du matin? Si j'ai besoin de prendre l'autobus..." *Whatever*. Alors, il y avait tout. Le fait que c'était bien organisé, les jeunes sont sortis avec une belle expérience.[52] (SJFA/Eh, 1996).

A few organizers also pointed to other sport excellence criteria, namely the importance of increasing the number of participants and the need to improve the level of competitiveness and sport performance (SJFA/Ef, 1996; SJFA/Eh, 1996). In short, the Games were mostly assessed on the basis of the sport excellence and participation discourses as opposed to being evaluated in terms of francophone objectives. They were evaluated according to their emulation of Olympic precepts and according to the efficiency of the organizational and technical procedures.

Throughout the process of staging the Games, organizers continually confronted various debates and problems produced by the contest between various definitions of 'true' francophoneness and of 'legitimate' sport. Organizers were certainly aware of the SJFA's ambivalence in terms of the recruitment of "francophone" vs. "immersion" participants, of the competitive vs. recreational sport mandate of the event and of the overall impact of the contest between the AFG francophone and sport agendas. They acknowledged these unrelenting debates, but they were not necessarily, in practice, attentive to resolving them. The effect of the continuing discursive struggle between the mandates of the Games was the greater insistence on sport, as opposed to

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[52] "When I answered (...) that it was a success, there were two levels. At the organizational level, it (the fourth edition of the AFG] was a great success. There was an incredible improvement compared to previous years at all the organizational levels. So, at the logistical level, for example... Well, the organization of tournaments, my god: you had schedules; you had organizers; you had volunteers; the schedule was respected. Everyone knew what they had to do so... At the medical level, my god: we had equipment; we had first aid people; we had the hospital. A link had been established with the hospital, they were waiting for us. Agreements had been made with local businesses of the host community, St. Albert, to demonstrate, to prepare the community for the Games. With the schools... Anyway, at all levels initiatives were undertaken, that either built on previous years or that even did new things. So, at the organizational and logistical level, it was a 100% improvement. And this improvement, at the organizational level, helped participants, youths and volunteers, live a great experience. An experience that deserves to be repeated since they arrived in an well-ordered atmosphere, in an atmosphere... It was not total chaos. It was not discord. There was no discord, it was organized. So the youths and volunteers were able to come and enjoy their weekend. They did not have to worry: 'My god, will we eat? If I am injured, will there be someone to take care of me? If I need a telephone, will I be able to call my mother at four o'clock in the morning? If I need to take the bus...' Whatever. So, there was everything. The fact that it was well organized, the youths came out of it with a nice experience."

francophoneneness throughout the process of staging the Games, including the assessement of their success. This disposition towards the adoption of the sport excellence discourse was also sustained by another important factor: Participating youths also focused on the sport and organizational components of the Games and they expected a certain level of resemblance between the AFG and what they conceived of as legitimate sport events. Youths, and their perspectives on these and other issues, will be the focus of the next chapter.

CHAPTER SEVEN - IF YOU DON'T SPEAK FRENCH, YOU'RE OUT?: YOUTHS AT THE AFG

When I asked youths what they thought of the fact that many participants spoke English at the AFG, two teenagers with French as a first language and from francophone schools clearly stated, in two separate interviews, that it was more important to stage a large event that included participants who would inevitably speak English at some point during the weekend rather than holding a small event, completely in French:

> Je pense qu'on parlait de si c'est correct qu'il y a des personnes qui parlent en anglais [aux JFA]. Bien moi je trouve que ça serait mieux si les personnes parlaient plutôt en français. Mais j'aimerais mieux avoir beaucoup de personnes qui sont là, et il y en a qui parlent en anglais, que d'en avoir pas beaucoup, tout le monde parle en français.[1] (Edmonton/E, 1997).

> Après une secousse, tu veux juste du monde qui vient. Qu'ils parlent quatre mots de français, ça ne fait rien. [...] On veut qu'il y ait du monde qui vient.[2] (Jean Côté/E, 1997).

They argued that the greater the number of participants, the more enjoyable and interesting the Games would be. And that, according to them, was better than restricting the event to youths who would speak French throughout the weekend. The performance of the French language was preferable, but certainly not a priority for these participants.

AFG founders and organizers viewed sport as a lure to attract youths, and it was indeed sport that drew participants. Questionnaire and interview results presented in what follows demonstrate that participants were aware of the requirement to speak French throughout the weekend and they agreed, in principle, with the purpose of the Games to promote francophoneness. However, they primarily attended the AFG to practice sports and to have fun. In most cases, the francophoneness of the event was incidental to their motivation for participation.[3] Furthermore, participants expected the AFG to be similar to modern organized sport. Their expectations concerning organizational and sporting know-how were clearly stated in their evaluations of the Games. For instance, they complained about incompetent officials and referees, long

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[1] "I think we were talking about if it is okay that some people speak English [at the AFG]. Well, I think that it would be better if people spoke in French instead. But, I would rather have a lot of people there, and some of them speak English, than having not much people and everyone speaks French."

[2] "After a while, you just want people to come. That they speak only four words of French, it doesn't matter. [...] We just want people to come."

[3] The francophoneness of the AFG did not necessarily attract the youths who took part in the event, but it also did not deter them from participating. Conversely, it appears to have been a reason other French speaking youths refused to participate. At a General Council meeting, some *chefs de mission* reported that the francophoneness of the Games did bother some teenagers, mostly French immersion students. These potential participants refused to attend because they considered that francophone events were not "cool" (Dallaire, 1996-1997). Therefore, for these youths, the francophoneness of the AFG was more significant than their sporting character. But they were not really the ones that organizers wished to attract in any event.

waiting periods, the taste and lack of food, poorly organized transportation, the damaged running track, the volleyball courts being too small, poorly organized track and field competitions, the early bedtime and early mornings, and the need for medals (FJA, 1992e; 1993g; SJFA, 1995g; 1996m).

The results of the participant evaluations conducted by organizers were certainly not all negative. Some youths were evidently satisfied and enjoyed their experience at the AFG (FJA, 1992e; 1993g; SJFA, 1995g; 1996m). What is significant here is that the majority of their comments, positive or negative, pointed to sport and organizational considerations.[4] It is also noteworthy that there was no consensus among participants concerning the sport mandate of the Games. Few complained that the event was too competitive but one youth commented that coaches were too focused on winning (SJFA, 1996m). When I asked them in interviews if the Games should be more or less competitive, some sought a higher level of competition (Edmonton/E, 1997; Jean Côté, 1997). However, the majority of them expressed satisfaction with the current level of competition which allowed experienced youths to do their best while allowing novice players to participate in a sporting environment where they were not under pressure to win and could simply enjoy practicing sports and meeting other youths (Edmonton/E, 1997; AFG/E2, 1997; AFG/E4, 1997; AFG/E5, 1997; AFG/E6, 1997; AFG/E7, 1997; AFG/E8, 1997; AFG/E9, 1997). Others would have wanted to play against better opponents, yet they felt it was important for the Games to include novice players too:

> - Bien, ce n'est pas assez compétitif mais ça doit être plaisant. Si quelqu'un veut jouer, on devrait le laisser jouer.
> - *Sure.*
> - Tu ne peux pas dire: "Non. Tu n'es pas bon. Tu ne peux pas jouer." C'est pour tout le monde.[5]
> (AFG/E3, 1997).

While youths did not necessarily want the level of competition to be higher, their comments on the evaluations of the AFG did show that they expected organizers and sport officials to be competent and to provide a well-run event.

Participant evaluations and youth interviews revealed that youths were more concerned with having fun and enjoying the sport competitions in an organized setting than with living an experience entirely in French. Indeed, the particular configuration of sport and francophone discourses at the AFG produced a situation where youths

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[4] Organizers administered evaluation questionnaires before youths' departure at the end of each edition of the AFG. These questionnaires specifically asked youths to assess the sporting and cultural/social activities as well as the various technical, logistical and organizational aspects of the Games. The evaluations focused on the achievement of the sport agenda and the overall course of events. Youths were not specifically asked to assess the overall francophone environment of the AFG nor the achievement of the francophone agenda. While youths could have been concerned with the flow of activities and with the standard of sport expertise at the AFG, the fact that the evaluation forms specifically asked them to assess these factors could have, to a certain extent generated youth concerns for such factors (as opposed to the fun they had, the opportunities to make new friends and the francophone environment of the event).

[5] "- Well, it is not competitive enough but it has to be fun. If someone wants to play, we should let them play.
- Sure.
- You can not say: 'No. You are not good. You can not play.' It is for everyone."

acknowledged the francophone agenda of the Games but were attracted by their sporting character and did not necessarily comply with the official requirement to speak French. Many interactions between participants were, in fact, conducted in English--to the point that it is not at all obvious that the Games provided youths with a weekend "in French". Teenagers did speak French, or tried to, when they communicated with organizers, volunteers, *chefs de mission*, sports officials[6] and coaches. However, many of them widely used English in their informal conversations among each other, in other words for most communication. Thus, at this very basic level, the francophoneness of AFG participants was a fact much more complicated than might appear.[7]

This chapter summarily explores the issue of youths and francophoneness in the context of the Games and uncovers important differences between the organizers and the participants. The first section gives an account of participants' characteristics associated to the French language and their reasons for attending the Games. Participants' understanding of francophoneness is discussed in the second section by examining how they reproduced the linguistic and cultural francophone discourses and their dichotomous segments. The third section focuses on youth francophone identities by examining participants' performance of the 'francophone' at the AFG and by pointing to the hybridity of their identities. This chapter ends with remarks regarding youths' production of francophoneness at the AFG and the francophone agenda of the Games.

7.1 French-speaking youths at the AFG

Compared to organizers and volunteers, youth participants at the AFG formed a diverse group of French speakers. The questionnaire results presented in Chapter Four showed that French was the first language of the majority of organizers and volunteers as well as their parents' first language. Conversely, participants did not all speak French as a first language, nor did their parents. The results of the questionnaires reveal some important differences, on the one hand, between youths and the organizers/volunteers, and, on the other hand, within the 1996 and 1997 participant populations.

Indeed, Table 7 reveals that the only common French language characteristic among participants, other than their ability to communicate in French, was that more than 96% of them were enrolled in a French language education program (whether in a French as first language school/program or in a French immersion school/program). As opposed to the strong correspondence between organizers' and volunteers' ties to the French language, the 1996 and 1997 participants formed three groups: approximately half of them shared French as a first language; another fifth claimed both French and English as first languages; the rest of the participants, approximately 30%, did not have French as a first language. Correspondingly, both parents of half of the participants spoke French as mother tongue, a fifth of the participants came from linguistically mixed families, and neither of the parents of the remaining third had French as a first language. Thus, two

[6] Except, of course, when addressing English-speaking officials who could not communicate in French such as the volleyball officials at the 1996 AFG.

[7] It may be useful to recall at this point that the basic conventional wisdom common to both francophone discourses is that the 'true' francophone speaks French. While AFG participants had, at least, a minimum ability to communicate in French and thus could speak French if they chose to, they did not "speak French" spontaneously.

thirds of the participants possibly learned French at home while one third of them learned it as a second language, presumably at school. It should also be noted that 2% of the 1996 and 1997 participants reported having neither French nor English as a first language but rather Chinese, Korean, Polish or Spanish which also added to the linguistic and cultural diversity of the AFG populations.

Table 7. Questionnaire results - Demographic and linguistic characteristics of participants (1996 AFG = 144 respondents; 1997 AFG = 164 respondents)[8]			
		1996	1997
AGE:	12 years old	31	14
	13 years old	38	40
	14 years old	33	43
	15 years old	23	39
	16 years old	6	19
	17 years old	5	6
	18 years old	0	3
	19 years old	1	0
PLACE OF BIRTH:	Alberta	99	126
	Quebec	8	6
	other provinces	5	8
	outside Canada	1	0
SEX:	F	72	76
	M	66	87
LANGUAGE OF EDUCATION:	French	73	94
	French immersion school/program	49	56
	English	2	5
	French and English	8	7
FIRST LANGUAGE:	French	61	82
	English	49	47
	French and English	25	31
	Other	3	3
FIRST LANGUAGE OF PARENTS:	French (both parents)	67	85
	French (one parent)	28	33
	English or other (both parents)	39	43
HOME LANGUAGE(S):	French	35	46
	English	53	63
	French and English	48	51
	Other	1	2
LANGUAGES SPOKEN WITH FRIENDS:	French	7	10
	English	82	73
	French and English	45	79
	Other	0	1
PARTICIPATION IN OTHER FRANCOPHONE ACTIVITIES: Yes		40	80

Participants did not only have different connections to French in terms of mother tongue and family environment, they also came from schools where the French language held a different status. Between 55% and 59% of teenagers at the AFG were recruited in francophone schools while 35% to 37% were from French immersion schools.[9] The remaining participants attended mixed or English language schools, or they were youths who had attended more than one type of schools. Contrary to organizers and volunteers

[8] The total number of answers within each category is sometimes less than 144 in 1996 and less than 164 in 1997 since not all questionnaires were completely answered.

[9] The larger proportion of participants from francophone schools compared to participants from French immersion schools, despite the larger population of French-speaking youths in the latter, is most probably the result of organizers' focus on recruiting participants from francophone schools (see Chapter Six, section 6.3.2).

who reported being involved in other francophone activities, half or fewer of the AFG participants answered that they took part in other francophone activities. Thus, the AFG evidently gathered, a group of youths for whom French emanated from the family and cultural[10] environments, but they also attracted another group for whom French was a language strictly associated with school. Between these two extremities were other participants for whom the practice of French took on various meanings.

One linguistic characteristic shared among most of these youths was their common use of English when conversing with friends. This was a practice that had an important impact on the AFG since participants widely spoke English with each other. The fact that they had been born and raised in Alberta was a contributing factor to their widespread spontaneous use of English and again distinguished them from organizers. More than 87% of participants were born in Alberta. Bernard's (1991) comparison of the linguistic practices of French-speaking youths across Canada demonstrated that the use of English for communication with friends and family among French-speaking youths increased in provinces where francophone communities represented smaller minorities. It should be no surprise then that AFG participants spoke English to a greater extent with family and friends than organizers and volunteers who came from Quebec. Even participants among those who spoke French as a mother tongue and whose parents also shared French as a first language declared speaking French and English at home. But it should also be noted that none of the organizers and almost no volunteers born in Alberta reported using only English when conversing with friends. Perhaps the difference in the use of English and French is also related to age: The younger generation speaks English more often. But I would argue that it is also probable that organizers and volunteers born in Alberta represent particular groups within their own generations who are more committed to the French language than other French speakers their own age. The latter proposition appears to be the most plausible explanation for the differences between the linguistic practices and identities of the participants and those of the organizers and volunteers. It is not the fact that more than 50% of the organizers had been raised in Quebec that led to the disparity between organizers and youth participants. Rather, the fact that organizers and volunteers, regardless of their place of birth, were committed to living part of their lives in French and were involved in the francophone community is what characterized them and distinguished them from other French speakers and from AFG participants. As outlined in Chapter Four, organizers and volunteers did not represent the majority of French speakers in Alberta. They instead represented a select and limited group of French speakers who shared close ties to the French language and who performed it more often than most French speakers did.

Conversely, participating youths did not routinely speak French. At the 1996 AFG, 61% of youths reported communicating only in English among peers. At the 1997 AFG,

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[10] My research questionnaire did not include any specific questions on ethnic or cultural origins. The status of French as first language gives an indication of the relative importance of the French language in youths' cultural heritage, but it does not identify their parents' ethnicity. Parents who had French as a first language were not necessarily of French Canadian ancestry (although many of them probably were). For instance, one teenager explained to me during an informal conversation at the 1996 AFG that both her parents were of French mother tongue, but that her mother was from Algeria (Dallaire, 1996-1997). This youth spontaneously pointed to a cultural difference that mother tongue does not express. Thus, the French language could have been an important part of youths' cultural heritage without necessarily being associated with French Canadian ethnicity.

this figure decreased to 45%.[11] In addition, approximately a third of the participants at both Games declared speaking French and English with their friends. English was thus used to communicate with friends by more than 87% of the youths. My interviews with participants[12] confirmed that English was also the language of choice for their leisure activities. While some of them answered that they engaged in both French and English language recreational activities, it was clear that English was the dominant language during their leisure time. This observation is consistent with the results of other studies on francophone youths' linguistic and leisure practices (Bernard, 1991; Gingras, 1993; Renaud, 1991). The youths I interviewed mostly consumed English language popular culture through radio, television and films. They generally played sports or engaged in other leisure activities in an English context as well. A few participants mentioned that they did enjoy some French language popular culture, such as *Watatatow*, a youth soap opera broadcasted on SRC television, *Clan Destin* an SRC youth television program produced in Alberta, Céline Dion's French language songs, and the *Colocs*, two rock/popular music bands from Quebec. But, their overall knowledge or awareness of French language popular culture was minimal.[13]

Despite the differences among participants regarding their relationships to the French language and despite their predominant use of English to speak among each other, participants did share a positive attitude towards French. They had, obviously, accepted to participate in a francophone event. All participants interviewed approved of the AFG's francophone agenda. They were aware, for instance, that organizers meant to provide youths with the opportunity to speak French and to establish a social context where youths could meet other French-speaking teenagers from all over the province (AFG/E1, 1997; AFG/E2, 1997; AFG/E3, 1997; AFG/E5, 1997; AFG/E7, 1997; AFG/E9, 1997; Edmonton/E, 1997). However, a tenth or less of all reasons that participants

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[11] Since the proportion of youths from French-speaking, mixed and non-French-speaking families did not change from 1996 to 1997 and that the proportion of youths with French, French and English, and English as first language did not change either, this decline is difficult to explain. One factor that may explain this decrease is that youths at the 1997 Games participated in francophone activities to a greater extent (49%) than youths at the 1996 AFG (28%). Participants at the 1997 AFG may have, in the context of these francophone activities, developed more friendships with other French-speaking youths or they could have had more opportunities for speaking in French with friends.

[12] The youths I interviewed had the following characteristics:

a) 24 youths had French as first language; 2 of them had French and English as first languages; and 11 had English as a first language

b) French was the first language of both parents of 24 teenagers; 7 youths had only one parent who had French as a first language; neither parent of 9 youths spoke French

c) 17 participants were from francophone schools; 12 were in French immersion

d) 11 youths were from Edmonton; 11 from Peace River; 7 from Calgary; 6 from the central Alberta region; 2 from Fort McMurray; 1 from Edson; 1 from Athabasca.

[13] Participants' unfamiliarity with francophone popular culture may have contributed to organizers' difficulties in promoting francophone culture at the AFG. The first four Games offered concerts and became a context where teenagers were introduced to French language music. Organizers were unsure of the success the French language bands would obtain because they had no way of estimating youths' appreciation of such performances. At the 1996 AFG, for example, the concert had not been very popular among participants (Dallaire, 1996-1997). Organizers thus felt they were taking important risks with a significant portion of the budget. Consequently, they decided to present a performance by a French-speaking magician at the fifth AFG. His show was really well received by the participants (Dallaire, 1996-1997). Since then, no concert has been featured at the AFG. The 1998 Games did not provide any major French language performance and the 1999 AFG featured a hypnotist (SJFA, 1998, 1999).

spontaneously provided on the research questionnaire to explain their decision to take part in the AFG alluded to the francophoneness of the event (see Table 8).

Table 8. Questionnaire results - Youth motivations for attending the 1996 AFG and 1997 AFG		
Total answers to the question: Why did you decide to participate in the AFG?	**1996**	**1997**
To have fun	46.7%	30.6%
For sport	21.8%	23.8%
Other (to meet boys or girls, to get away, etc.)	10.3%	13.3%
Because their friends, teachers or parents encouraged them to participate	9.1%	7.7%
To make new friends	7.9%	14.5%
To meet other francophones	1.8%	2.0%
To play sports in French	1.2%	2.0%
Other reasons associated to the francophoneness of the AFG	1.2%	6.0%

Questionnaires and interviews reveal that youths mainly participated in the Games for reasons such as: they thought it would be fun; to practice sports; they had been convinced by peers, parents or teachers to attend; and they wanted to meet other teenagers. Some respondents added that they had returned to the 1997 AFG because they had enjoyed their experience at previous Games (i.e. AFG/E3, 1997; AFG/E9, 1997). The questionnaire results of the 1997 AFG show that forty-six participants had participated once before, twelve youths had attended two earlier editions of the Games, nine youths had been to three previous AFGs and one youth reported that he had participated in the four previous editions. In all, 68 youths, which represented 41% of 1997 participants, were returning participants--presumably because they had valued their previous experiences at the Games.

In short, French-speaking youths with different connections to the French language took part in the AFG. Youths formed a different group from organizers and volunteers as a result of their diversity and as a result of their different connections to the French language. Their motivations for participating in the Games also set them apart from organizers and volunteers who, as reported in Chapter Three, were primarily involved in staging the event for reasons associated to the francophoneness of the AFG. Participants not only proved to be different from organizers and volunteers as a result of their linguistic characteristics and attraction to the Games, but they also had different motivations for being involved in the event.

7.2 AFG participants: repeating and re-articulating francophone discourses[14]

> communauté francophone:
> Tout le monde qui parle français font partie de la communauté francophone. On célèbre des fêtes que personne d'autre fête. On

[14] An earlier version of the analysis of participants' production of the linguistic and cultural discourses has been accepted for publication. Dallaire, C. (forthcoming). La communauté francophone en Alberta: ce que les jeunes en pensent. In P. Sing and P. Dubé (Eds.), Actes du colloque du Centre d'études franco-canadiennes de l'Ouest (CEFCO) held in Edmonton, Alberta, October 22-24, 1998. Edmonton: Institut de recherche de la Faculté Saint-Jean.

> agit un peu plus bizarre que les anglophones.[15] [Youth written statement reproduced from drawing #14, (AFG/E4, 1997)]

Participants reproduced the linguistic and the cultural discourses circulating at the AFG and concurrently articulated them in a way that reproduced the instability of francophoneness. Like organizers, through this simultaneous production of the two discourses, teenagers produced a hierarchy of francophoneness where French-speakers were considered members of the community but those who shared francophone culture had a stronger claim to francophone identity (AFG/E7, 1997). But unlike organizers, not all AFG participants considered themselves 'true' francophones and/or members of the francophone community. While some youths took on an explicit francophone identity, others chose to identify as, for instance, "bilingual Canadian" or "French-English Canadian" to indicate their ability to speak French without necessarily including themselves in the community or producing themselves as 'true' francophones or again to identify French as their second language (AFG/E1, 1997; AFG/E4, 1997; AFG/E7, 1997). Indeed, some youths assumed subject positions in certain combinations of the francophone discourses and their dichotomies that produced them as the 'other'. Whereas questionnaire results showed that all but two organizers explicitly identified as francophones[16] and where interviews confirmed that organizers viewed themselves as members of the francophone community, youth interviews demonstrated that some participants produced the linguistic and/or cultural truths in a way that defined themselves as non-francophones. Besides, I argued in Chapter Five that organizers articulated the linguistic and cultural 'truths' in a way that did not produce all AFG participants as 'real' francophones either. In that sense, youths who did not identify as 'francophones' were reproducing similar distinctions between themselves and organizers. But the contrast remains that organizers produced themselves as 'true' francophones while some participants did not. Youths assumed different subject positions in the linguistic and cultural discourses as a result of their different relationships to the French language and/or to the presumed francophone culture.

The following analysis outlines the general trends in youths' construction of francophoneness at the AFG and makes a comparison between participants' and organizers' production of the 'francophone'. It draws from participant interviews as well as from their drawings/statements. Youth drawings/statements were quite informative in depicting their perceptions of the francophone community. While AFG organizers and francophone leaders had, in many cases, extensively discussed their beliefs about francophone identity and community with obvious ease, AFG participants did not elaborate their ideas verbally. Twenty-six youths, however, produced drawings/statements that described their views more explicitly.

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[15] "Francophone community: Everyone who speaks French is part of the francophone community. We celebrate festivities that no one else celebrates. We act in a more bizarre way than anglophones."
[16] See Table 1 in Chapter Four, section 4.2.1.1.

7.2.1 Youths and the linguistic and cultural 'truths'

Interviewed youths generally spoke of the francophone community in linguistic terms. For instance, one participant stated that "[s]i tu sais la langue et tu parles la langue. Je pense que ça c'est la communauté francophone."[17] (AFG/E8, 1997). Moreover, ten of the twenty-six youth drawings/statements depicted a linguistic community.[18] One such written statement was:

> Communauté francophone:
>
> La communauté francophone comprend tous les gens qui parlent ou essaient de parler la langue francophone. Ils sont des gens qui veulent participer à la langue française.[19] (#12, AFG/E4, 1997).

According to these participants, members of the francophone community are primarily determined on the basis of their ability to speak French. Their statements produced various versions of the linguistic 'francophone' and frequently underlined the importance of practicing French in the sense of rehearsing the French language in order to preserve it or to improve it. I will return to this insistence on the need to "rehearse" French in the discussion of the strategic (vs. routine) dimension of their francophoneness. What is germane to the examination of their production of linguistic and cultural definitions is that teenagers more commonly referred, at least on the face of it, to the performance of French language as a distinction of francophoneness.

Indeed, interviews with youths generated fewer references to cultural criteria than to linguistic criteria to define the 'francophone', but their statements did illustrate the continued relevance of the cultural discourse in that they recognized it and pronounced its different versions. Teenagers from the Peace River area, for example, identified themselves as Franco-Albertans, which according to them implied that "notre culture est française" (Jean Côté/E, 1997). During the ensuing discussion, these youths specified that one did not have to be of French mother tongue[20] to claim this identity. But one had to live this culture, a culture they associated with the Quebec roots of their parents or grand-parents and to French Canadian traditions. The cultural discourse was also articulated by some AFG participants who did not satisfy the cultural criteria and who thus identified themselves as non-francophones even if they could speak French (AFG/E2, 1997; AFG/E7, 1997). Youths who drew on this discourse enunciated different variations of the cultural 'francophone', but such a discourse rarely appeared in interviews and was also less explicitly manifested in the drawings than the linguistic discourse.[21] Youths generally proposed linguistic criteria and would articulate the

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[17] "[i]f you know the language and you speak it. I think that is the francophone community."

[18] #2 (AFG/E1, 1997); #11 (AFG/E3, 1997); #12 (AFG/E4, 1997); #18 and #19 (AFG/E5, 1997); #20 and #22 (AFG/E7, 1997); #24, #25 and #26 (AFG/E8, 1997)

[19] "Francophone community: The francophone community consists of all the people who speak or who try to speak the francophone language. They are people who want to participate in French language."

[20] This reference to mother tongue was presumably meant to distinguish between French speakers who inherited this culture from their parents and others.

[21] Seven drawings alluded to activities that could be defined as cultural activities even if their authors did not specifically write the term "culture" (#7 and #9, AFG/E3, 1997; #13-#16, AFG/E4, 1997; #23, AFG/E7, 1997).

cultural discourse only after I introduced the theme of 'culture'. When they did discuss the culture of the community, like organizers they spoke of French Canadian traditions such as the *tourtière*, the *cabane à sucre*, French music, the carnival, and the *réveillon*.

It is possible to distinguish some youth statements as governed by either one or the other discourse. Yet, the two discursive formations overlapped in youths' statements, just as they did in organizers' statements, thus again producing an unstable francophone. On the one hand, there was no consensus among youths. On the other hand, some participants pronounced both discourses. In some instances, youths' concurrent articulation of linguistic and cultural 'truths' was manifested as a shift from one discourse to another during the interview (AFG/E3, 1997) or from their verbal statements in the interview to their drawings or written statements (AFG/E4, 1997). In other instances, it produced the same hierarchy manifested in organizers' statements: All French speakers could be viewed as members of the community, but those who shared French Canadian culture had a stronger claim to francophone identity (AFG/E7).

One drawing/statement illustrates another more complicated expression of discursive instability also found among organizers' statements. To describe the francophone community, the participant wrote:

> La communauté francophone c'est un groupe de gens français avec qui, la langue maternelle est française, se parler et s'entraider en s'amusant. Elle est aussi une place ou groupe avec qui on peut grandir. Je crois il est important que nous gardons notre langue et que nous la parlons avec fierté et les Jeux francophones nous permettent cela. J'espère garder ma langue pour enfin la montrer à mes enfants. Ma langue est IMPORTANTE[22] pour moi. Merci.[23]
> (#26, AFG/E8, 1997).

This quote could be interpreted as a linguistic statement. Yet, it could also have been a product of the cultural discourse. This youth could have implied that French speakers who share French as a first language also share a common culture and that French is an important part of this culture that should be preserved and passed on to future generations. Then again, her statement could also be traversed by both discursive formations.

This same form of instability was also manifested in youths' drawings. Drawings/statements that specifically referred to cultural practices such as *traditions* and *cabanes à sucre* were, in the analysis, associated with the cultural discourse. Those that only specified a connection to French language were classified as corresponding to the linguistic discourse. In many cases, however, the instability of the 'francophone' and the vagueness of the significance of their drawings/statements made it difficult to determine if they referred to a cultural practice or to a linguistic practice. This instability was illustrated in the drawings/statements representing institutions. There is a distinction

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[22] in capital letters in the original

[23] "The francophone community is a group of French people who have French as a first language, to talk and help each other while also having fun. It is also a place or a group where we can grow. I think it is important for us to keep our language and that we proudly talk it and the Francophone Games allow this. I hope to preserve my language to teach it to my children. My language is IMPORTANT to me. Thank you."

between cultural practices and the institutions within which one may engage in cultural or linguistic practices (such as the school, the Church, the *Fête franco-albertaine*, and the media). These institutions can be the site of both linguistic and cultural practices. Except drawings for which the participants specified a linguistic or a cultural criterion, it was impossible to determine if they thought of these institutions and their associated activities as linguistic or cultural practices. Because of their ambiguity, some drawings were simply not classified as corresponding to either of the discourses. The simultaneous production of both discourses at the site of the AFG makes it impossible to determine the exact positioning of some drawings and statements. This contributes in important ways to the discursive instability of the 'francophone'.

7.2.2 Youths and the discursive dichotomies

7.2.2.1 French as first vs. second/other language The dichotomy that youths expressed the most was the distinction between French speakers based on their first language. Whether they viewed it or not as a significant criterion and whether they pronounce linguistic or cultural 'truths', they were at the very minimum aware that this dichotomy potentially differentiates between French speakers. They assumed that those who had learned French as a first language spoke it more fluently than French speakers who learned it as a second or other language (AFG/E7, 1997; Edmonton/E, 1997).

Youths expressed contradictory opinions in interviews and in drawings. Nevertheless, more participants leaned towards the inclusion of all French speakers in the community. For instance, five drawings specified that people who spoke French as a second language were also members of the francophone community.[24] One of these participants wrote:

> La communauté francophone c'est les francophones dans la région, qui savent et parlent la langue française. Je pense que ça peut être ta langue maternelle mais ça pas besoin d'être ta langue maternelle.[25] (#24, AFG/E8, 1997).

Only two drawings clearly stated that speaking French as first language was a requirement (see #26 above).[26] It should be noted that in the same way that there was no correspondence between youths linguistic characteristics and their insertion in the linguistic or the cultural discourse, youths' opinions concerning the salience of the criteria of first language to define francophoneness were not a function of their linguistic characteristics.

7.2.2.2 Routine and/or strategic identity Youths viewed the francophone community as being built from both routine and strategic identities. On the one hand, they expressed ideas that alluded to a francophone community based on a shared culture

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[24] (#6 and #9 - #11, AFG/E3; #24, AFG/E8)

[25] "The francophone community is the francophones in the region who know and speak French. I think that it can be your first language, but it does not have to be your first language."

[26] (#25 and #26, AFG/E8)

and analogous, for instance, to family ties (#13, AFG/E4, 1997). On the other hand, they also described the community as composed of French speakers who wanted to have the opportunity to live in French and who fought to safeguard the French language's presence in Alberta, an illustration of the strategic dimension of community (Edmonton/E, 1997).

What distinguished participants from organizers who were from the older generations was that they mostly explained their own francophoneness as a conscious and strategic project. Youth francophone identities were not lived unproblematically. Even if some participants expressed an emotional and essentializing attachment to the French language and/or francophone culture, the majority of them stressed that they had to make the conscious effort to maintain their ability to communicate in French. Whereas speaking French was comparatively more of a spontaneous practice for organizers it was an intentional undertaking for youths, whether they claimed it as their first language or not. Organizers had referred to the strategic dimension of francophone identity in terms of the necessity to contribute to community building and to participate in francophone institutions. Conversely, teenagers lived their own francophoneness as a responsibility, and had to constantly work at its production aside from thinking about their obligations towards the collectivity.

7.2.2.3 Minority and/or national identity To discuss the minority dimension of francophone identity and community, youths referred to the same concept of francophone minority which organizers had produced. It was associated with the idea of francophone minority within Alberta and the specificity of francophones in Alberta, as opposed to, for example, alluding to a French-speaking minority within Canada. Indeed, AFG participants did not articulate various versions of the nation. For instance, the concept of French Canada was notably absent from their statements about francophone identity and community. In fact, youths did not seem at all interested in the idea of a francophone nation, whether it be a linguistic or a cultural nation. The majority of the youths I interviewed, regardless of their mother tongue, constructed one version of the national community, that of a bilingual Canadian nation. Indeed, they perceived Canada as a nation with two official languages, presumably equal in political status. Youths' reproduction of the minority and/or national dichotomy thus produced the francophone community as a minority in English-speaking Alberta while at the same time conceiving of French speakers as members of a bilingual nation, where francophones are considered part of the majority.

Youths demonstrated the importance of the national dimension of their self-definition. Indeed, Table 9 shows that the most popular identity was "Canadian" which clearly points to their insertion in the majority group. Most youths viewed Canada as a bilingual nation, not as a bi-national country. It is in this perspective that they developed their identity as national--they were Canadians because they spoke both French and English (AFG/E7, 1997). In this sense, youths did not necessarily choose "Canadian" as an identity to reject their francophoneness but rather to point to their hybridity--the French language and the English language played a significant role in their self-definition. Other youths, however, did identify as "Canadians" to emphasize the primacy of English in their lives:

> Je dirais Canadienne parce que ma langue nationale est anglaise et dans ma maison c'est anglais. Et je ne veux pas comme abandonner cette

> langue pour la francophone parce que ce n'est pas vrai. Alors, je dirais que je suis Canadienne.[27] (AFG/E2, 1997).

This participant was not necessarily denying the fact that she spoke French. What is certain is that she decided to identify as a Canadian rather than as a francophone because she had closer ties to the English language which prevented her from primarily identifying as a francophone.

Table 9. Questionnaire results - Participants' claimed identities[28] (1996 AFG =144 and 1997 AFG =164)

CLAIMED IDENTITY	1996	1997
Canadian	46.5%	34.8%
French Canadian	23.6%	27.3%
Franco-Albertan	7.9%	13.7%
Francophone	7.9%	4.3%
Bilingual[29]	-	16.8%
Albertan	7.9%	-
Francophile	4.7%	-
Other	1.6%	3.1%

The French Canadian identity could refer to either a national and a minority identity. Interviews with youths have, however, revealed that they seemed to associate it with the idea of a Canadian nation, presumably bilingual, rather than a minority. For instance, one participant identified during the interview as a French Canadian. When I asked him to explain what it meant, he stated that it simply meant that he spoke French and lived in Canada (AFG/E2, 1997). Many other youths seemed to also identify as French Canadians to include themselves in the Canadian majority while still recognizing their francophoneness. In this perspective, up to 70% of 1996 participants and 62% of 1997 participants emphasized the national dimension of their identity.

Few participants clearly identified, in interviews or in questionnaire answers, as members of a minority. But, some of them did insist on pointing to their insertion in the minority francophone community in Alberta. Indeed, youths from the Peace River area explained that they identified as Franco-Albertans rather than French Canadians:

> [p]arce que Franco-Canadien ça peut être toujours autant du monde du Québec, tandis que Franco-Albertain, on sait tous que l'Alberta c'est majoritaire en anglais. Mais on est franco, ça veut dire qu'on est

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[27] "I would say Canadian because my national language is English and in my house it is English. And I do not want to abandon this language for the francophone one because it is not true. So, I would say that I am Canadian."

[28] This category provides participant answers to the question: Which term identifies you best? The results provided here only include the term respondents identified as the most important. Answers that included more than one term without placing them in order of priority are excluded from this analysis

[29] The bilingual identity was added as an example of identity on the 1997 questionnaire.

> minoritaire. Ce n'est pas la même affaire que de dire français-canadien, *whatever*...[30] (Jean Côté/E, 1997).

They wanted to distinguish themselves from francophones from Quebec who were a majority in their province. It was thus important to them to specify the minority character of their identity.

Organizers and participants drew on the same francophone discourses to describe identity and community and they concurrently articulated them in a way that perpetuated the discursive instability of the 'francophone'. It is precisely this pre-existing discursive instability that allowed youths to articulate linguistic definitions to a greater extent than organizers. But the cultural discourse was still sufficiently salient for some youths to recognize themselves as non-francophones. The uncertainty of the 'francophone' also created a context where youths could enunciate different versions of the routine/strategic and minority/national discursive dichotomies to explain their own identity. Youths thus produced a different configuration of linguistic and cultural 'truths'. This brief examination of the meaning of francophoneness in the statements of AFG participants outlined the differences between their reiteration of francophone discourses and that of organizers. One should keep in mind however that, while I focused on the general trends of their statements, youths' construction of the 'francophone' was as complicated as organizers' production of the 'francophone'.

7.3 Youths at the AFG are "not just francophones"

> [J]e pense aussi que c'est important de ne pas vivre juste dans une communauté francophone. C'est bon de l'avoir. Mais moi, je trouverais... Je sais qu'il y a des personnes qui sont tout le temps rien qu'avec des personnes juste francophones. Puis ils n'ont pas vraiment d'amis hors de la communauté francophone. Je trouve ça c'est vraiment pas bon parce que c'est une petite communauté francophone et si on reste ensemble et on ne parle pas à d'autres gens ça ne fait pas de bon du tout.[31] (Edmonton/E, 1997).

Youths' different articulation of the francophone discourses compared to organizers was in a large part made possible by the continuing struggle between the francophone discourses and their dichotomies, but it was also an effect of their own different francophoneness. AFG participants did not all think of themselves as 'true' francophones, but they could all speak some French and as a result of this at least partly identified with francophoneness. In participating in the Games, they were at the minimum manifesting

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[30] "[b]ecause Franco-Canadian could include people from Quebec, while Franco-Albertan, we know that anglophones are the majority in Alberta. But we are franco, that means that we are a minority. It is not the same thing as saying French Canadian, whatever..."

[31] "I think that it is important to not only live in a francophone community. It is good to have it. But I would find... I know there are some people who are always only with people who are only francophones. And they do not really have friends outside the francophone community. I think that is really not good because it is a small francophone community and if we stay together and do not speak to other people it does not good at all."

an appreciation for French language, if not for francophone culture. Interviews did indeed reveal that these youths had different levels of attachment to francophoneness, from a utilitarian desire for the mastery of the French language to an emotional cultural bond.

Youths were also different from organizers in that they did not all express a sense of belonging to the francophone community. Questionnaire results and interviews showed that youths were not as concerned as organizers about community building nor were they as involved in francophone institutions and activities. Four participants even maintained that they had no knowledge of the francophone community and therefore could not describe it verbally nor draw it (AFG/E1, 1997; AFG/E6, 1997). Even youths who manifested an attachment to the francophone community did not speak about the need to participate in community activities to ensure its consolidation. Rather, participants' preoccupation for the future of francophoneness was for the maintenance of their own francophoneness.

Bernard (1998) observed that minority francophone youths in Canada wished to retain their francophone language and culture and wanted to pass it on to their children. One of the AFG participants clearly expressed this wish in a written statement I quoted earlier: "J'espère garder ma langue pour enfin la montrer à mes enfants. Ma langue est IMPORTANTE[32] pour moi."[33] (#26, AFG/E8, 1997).[34] The paradox, Bernard (1998) noted, was that these youths primarily lived their life in English. This, I argue, is what fundamentally set AFG participants apart from organizers. French-speaking youths' spontaneous use of English to converse with each other was a discursive practice that contributed to the construction of their distinct hybrid identity merging francophone and anglophone identities.

However, as Pieterse (1995, p. 57) stresses,

> Relations of power are inscribed and reproduced *within* hybridity for wherever we look closely enough we find the traces of asymmetry in culture, place, descent. Hence hybridity raises the question of the terms of mixture, the conditions of mixing and mélange. At the same time it's important to note the ways in which hegemony is not merely reproduced but *refigured* in the process of hybridization.

The hybridity of young French speakers identities, then, does not assume that francophoneness is equally blended with anglophoneness. Indeed, teenagers at the AFG feel an emotional or pragmatic attachment to francophoneness, but their cultural practices, those most repeated, are set in other identity discourses. These youths speak English. They rethink the francophone by claiming the identity since they could speak

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[32] in capital letters in the original

[33] "I hope to preserve my language to teach it to my children. My language is IMPORTANT to me. Thank you."

[34] The fact that at fifteen years old, this young French speaker was already consciously articulating the desire to transmit her language to her future children points to the problematic character of her francophoneness. If her language had not been weakened or threatened, whether her own fluency in French or the political and social status of French in Alberta and Canada, she would arguably not have thought about it. That her children would have spoken French would have been a given.

French if they chose to, but they would rather speak English. Their particular cultural hybridity confirms the hegemony of English language.

Organizers born and raised in Alberta also, to a certain extent, constituted their identity as hybrid. They alluded to the idea that as francophones in Alberta, they could not avoid living part of their lives in English and that the English language did play a role in defining who they had been as teenagers and who they were today (FJA/Eb, 1997; FJA/Ed, 1997; Reinert, 1994; SJFA/Ec, 1997). They construed the incorporation of some form of anglophoneness in their identity as an effect of the minority character of francophoneness in Alberta. The significant difference between these organizers and participants was that an anglophone component was added to organizers' francophone identity, without subduing it. Francophoneness remained predominant in organizers' hybrid identity.

Conversely, the anglophone component of AFG participants' hybrid identities was certainly more pronounced and organizers recognized this:

> C'est drôle. Je ne sais pas c'est quoi parce que à un temps les jeunes de ma génération, si tu leur demandais s'ils étaient francophones, je pense que la tendance serait vers: "Oui, je suis francophone. Et oui, je suis bilingue mais je suis quand même francophone là-dedans." Là, tu demandes à un jeune et il va dire: "Je suis bilingue." Bien câline, pour nous autres, on ne comprend pas ça. Comment est-ce que ta culture peut-être bilingue? Non, je suis un francophone qui a appris l'anglais et que...[35] (FJA/Ed, 1997).

The hybridity of youths' identity unquestionably marked their francophoneness. This was quite obvious in one participant's justification for identifying as a Canadian: "Parce que Canadien ce n'est pas juste francophone. C'est francophone et anglophone. Et je ne suis pas juste francophone, je suis les deux."[36] (AFG/E8, 1997).

In talking about their identity, participants referred to their knowledge of Canada's two official languages. Even youths who had French as a first language and who shared francophone culture stressed the importance of their ability to speak English in the construction of their identity:

> A: Moi, je ne parle pas juste le français, comme je suis fière de ça. Je ne voudrais pas parler juste en français. J'aime ça avoir les deux langues parce que je veux dire... Si on parle juste en français, on sert à rien. Bien on sert, on n'est pas meilleur que les autres. Et si on parle juste en anglais, on n'a pas d'avantages non plus. Mais si on a les deux langues, on a beaucoup d'avantages.

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[35] "It is weird. I do not know what it is because at the time, my generation, if you asked them if they were francophones, I think that the tendency was towards: 'Yes, I am a francophone. And yes, I am bilingual but I am still a francophone too.' Now, you ask a teenager and he will say: 'I am bilingual.' Well, for us, we do not understand that. How can your culture be bilingual? No, I am a francophone who has learned English and ... '

[36] "Because Canadian is not just francophone. It is francophone and anglophone. And I am not only a francophone, I am both."

> L: C'est ça. Comme moi, je suis tellement contente de parler le français et l'anglais. Le fait de dire que je suis Canadienne, c'est comme: "*Yeah*, je parle l'anglais et le français, *you know*, et Franco-Albertaine à part de ça. Je suis minoritaire *and I'm happy about it!* "[37] (Edmonton/E, 1997).

This bilingualism was significant in their self-definition even if they chose to identify as francophones. Other youths clearly emphasized their bilingualism by choosing to identify as "bilingual".[38] In 1996, this term was not provided as an example of identity and no teenager suggested it as an alternative that best described them. But, when it was introduced on the 1997 questionnaire, 17% of the participants chose it.[39] Of these "bilingual" youths, ten had French as a first language, nine had French and English as first languages and seven had English as a first language. Obviously, identifying as "bilingual" was not related to one's first language.

In the case of some youths, the francophone and anglophone components of their hybridity were perhaps articulated equally. But, the practices of other youths denounced the stronger hold anglophoneness exercised over their subjectivity. The salience of anglophoneness in their identity was not only illustrated in their spontaneous use of English to speak with friends at the AFG, it was also manifested in their perpetual shift from French to English in the same conversation:

> A: Comme nous autres on n'est pas, on parle toujours comme un peu des deux langues. On va dire un peu en français...
> B: On mélange les deux.
> A: Mais, on ne va jamais avoir une conversation complètement en français. Il va toujours y avoir des mots en anglais.
> L: Mais c'est nous autres. (...) Ils nous appellent des *frogs* parce qu'on saute d'une langue à l'autre. On ne le réalise pas. Je vais parler et je vais: "*Oh yeah, remember that thing.*" Puis je vais continuer et je vais peut-être m'en rendre compte mais ça n'a aucun effet. Fait que souvent j'ai tendance à parler les deux langues".[40] (Edmonton/E, 1997).

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[37] "A: I do not only speak French, and I'm proud of that. I would not want to speak only French. I like to have both languages because... If we speak only French, we are of no use. Well, we can be of use, but we are no better than others. And if we only speak English, we have no advantage either. But if we have both languages, we have plenty of advantages.
L: That is it. It is like me, I am so happy to speak French and English. Saying I'm Canadian, it is like 'Yeah, I speak English and French, you know, and Franco-Albertan too. I'm a minority and I'm happy about it."

[38] Other studies have also pointed to the appearance of the "bilingual" identity among francophone youths (Bouchard, 1996; Gingras, 1993; Hébert, 1996; Marchand, 1998).

[39] See Table 9, section 7.2.2.3.

[40] "A: Like us, we are not, we always speak a little of both languages. We'll say a bit in French ..."
B: We mix both.
A: But, we'll never have a conversation completely in French. There will always be some English words.
L: But it's us. (...) They call us frogs because we jump from one language to another. We don't realize it. I will talk and I'll say: 'Oh yeah, remember that thing.' And I will continue and I will maybe realize it but it has no impact. So, I often tend to use both languages."

Youths considered it 'normal' for them to mix the two separate languages since French and English were ultimately part of who they were. This linguistic duality was even further embodied for a fifth of the 1996 and 1997 participants who reported having both French and English as first languages.

AFG participants did not perform francophoneness as regularly and as spontaneously as organizers. While organizers engaged in numerous practices that established and confirmed their own francophoneness and their commitment to the consolidation of the community, such as their consuming involvement with the AFG, French-speaking youths repeated fewer actions that sustained their francophoneness. The most fundamental practice for both the linguistic and the cultural francophone, speaking French, was routinely performed by organizers but it represented an arduous and complicated task for teenagers. Organizers spontaneously spoke French throughout my fieldwork (Dallaire, 1996-1997). They did occasionally use an expression or a word in English, but French dominated all exchanges I observed among organizers. Communicating in French was a given. Conversely, I was quite shocked to realize the extent to which participants interacted with each other in English during the 1996 Games (Dallaire, 1996-1997). Even participants who had French as a first language and whose parents also shared French as a first language found it difficult and "unnatural" to communicate in French, let alone to speak it unconsciously and constantly:

> - C'est dure de ne pas parler anglais. Parce qu'on parle anglais tout le temps.
> - Oui. C'est notre environnement parce qu'on parle anglais tout le temps.
> - C'est drôle parler en français.
> [...]
> - Oui, c'est naturel de parler l'anglais.
> - Mais, je sais pas. On essaie.
> - Des fois.
> - Des fois.[41] (AFG/E3, 1997).

Organizers lived a larger part of their own francophoneness routinely. Its strategic dimension was manifested in their concern for the community and in the importance of supporting community institutions and activities. That is, the problematic aspect of their francophoneness was, for example, associated to tuning in to CHFA, even if they were not necessarily satisfied with the programming, rather than listening to an English-speaking radio station. AFG participants, on the contrary, experienced their personal francophoneness as a project that constantly required work. Speaking French was, for

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[41] "- It is difficult to not speak English. Because we speak English all the time.
- Yes. It is our environment because we speak English all the time.
- Speaking French is weird.
[...]
- Yes, it is natural to speak English.
- But, I do not know. We try.
- Sometimes.
- Sometimes."

them, a rehearsed and conscious exercise and they viewed the Games as a context where they could "practice" their French (AFG/E3, 1997; Edmonton/E, 1997).

But many of them evidently did not think that it was necessary to speak French at all times to identify as a francophone nor did they all perceive the performance of French at the Games as a priority nor the presence of English as an issue (AFG/E3, 1997; AFG/E5, 1997; Edmonton/E, 1997; Jean Côté/E, 1997). Showing a positive attitude towards French and an effort to speak French appeared to be more important than actually performing in French throughout the weekend (AFG/E3, 1997; Edmonton/E, 1997). Youths respected the francophone agenda of the Games and addressed themselves in French to organizers, volunteers and officials (Dallaire, 1996-1997). This performance of French was quite conscious and strategic (AFG/E3, 1997; AFG/E6, 1997) while their shift to English when conversing among each other was automatic: "C'est juste une habitude de switcher en anglais."[42] (AFG/E4, 1997). Considering that 61% of the 1996 and 45% of 1997 participants reported speaking English with friends, and that another 34% in 1996 and 42% said they spoke both French and English with friends, it should be no surprise that they conversed in English with each other at the Games. This again illustrates how the anglophone component of their hybrid identities was much stronger than their francophoneness.

Organizers anticipated that English would be spoken over the weekend event, but they did not know how to counteract this spontaneous practice among youths and ultimately focused their energies on the sport and organizational aspects of the AFG. They acknowledged that it would perhaps be difficult for "francophile" participants to speak their second language for the full four days of the Games, and they also expected that some others whose first language was French would, on occasion, shift to English. Yet, as reported in Chapter Five, some volunteers and organizers questioned the wisdom of allowing immersion students at the AFG. They felt this "contaminated" the French-speaking environment leading the 'true' francophones to speak English. Hence their call for more restrictive criteria to select participants. Unfortunately, such an argument ignores the extent to which even 'true' young francophones predominantly communicated in English. Only 5% of participants in 1996 and 6% in 1997 declared that they only used French among friends. Furthermore, as I reported earlier in this chapter, English governed their leisure practices. In short, francophone discourses were not powerful enough to discipline participants to perform as francophones. Youths' conscious practice of French combined with their spontaneous use of English produced the particular hybridity of their identity that marked and characterized their francophoneness.

Organizers staged the Games with the intention of creating an environment where youths could produce themselves as francophones. The fundamental definition that ruled their idea of francophoneness was that the francophone necessarily speaks French. Thus, they created this event to provide youths with a linguistic experience: participants were meant to speak French at the AFG. Youths did officially communicate in French at the Games with organizers, officials, coaches, volunteers and other 'adults'. And, they did to a certain extent manifest an attachment to francophoneness. In fact, they construed it as a part of their identity. But they conceived of themselves as "more than francophones" and produced themselves, even at the AFG, as hybrids: as francophones and anglophones.

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[42] "It is just a habit to switch to English."

The fact that participants spontaneously spoke English at the AFG, in a context where they were among French speakers, and the fact that they insisted that speaking in French required effort and was even 'unnatural' for them illustrates the impediment their hybridity caused for the performance of their francophoneness. Youths accepted the francophone agenda of the AFG but they could not achieve it: speaking and living in French throughout the weekend was, for them, impracticable.

CHAPTER EIGHT - CONCLUSION

> Je suis un jeune Albertain et ma langue maternelle est le français. Je suis un candidat idéal pour devenir une victime de l'assimilation, de souffrir d'un complexe d'infériorité. Mais... je suis heureux de pouvoir vous dire que je suis fier. Je suis fier d'être qui je suis. Que ce soit Franco-Albertain, Canadien-français, francophone, Albertain, Canadien ou citoyen de la planète terre, je n'en suis pas encore certain. Mais je suis fier d'être qui je suis. Je suis fier du fait que je parle deux langues et que l'une d'elles soit le français. Je suis drôlement fier du fait que j'ai plus de difficulté à faire une présentation orale en anglais qu'en français. (...)
> Je suis fier et je crois que cette fierté assure un bel avenir. Ce futur comprend peut-être un Canada uni, peut-être un Canada bilingue, peut-être un cinquante-et-unième état. Peu importe la direction que choisira la société, je serai fier... de qui je suis. Voici ce qui rend l'association et notre communauté fortes.[1] (Magnan, 1997, p. 3).[2]

I entitled this study The Alberta Francophone Games: a question of identity. On the one hand, this title invokes the purpose of my research: to examine the production of the 'francophone' at the AFG. This research ultimately became a vehicle that allowed me to think about francophone identities not only in the context of sport, but in the wider circumstances of Canada today. In the end, I explored my own francophoneness as much as I furthered my understanding of the construction of francophone identity in a minority situation. On the other hand, the title also pertains to the impetus that lead to the creation of the Games: concerns for the promotion of francophone identity and for francophone community building. Indeed, the AFG were at their inception, and are still today, meant to be about francophoneness.

But whose francophoneness? At the onset of this study, I assumed that the Games were, as purported to be, especially about the production of youth participants as francophones. FJA leaders created the AFG to thwart the tide of linguistic transfers of young francophones towards English. They had intended to provide a context where French-speaking youths could play in French, thus build a stronger francophone identity

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[1] I am a young Albertan and my mother tongue is French. I am an ideal candidate to become a victim of assimilation, to suffer from an inferiority complex. But... I am happy to be able to tell you that I am proud. I am proud of who I am. Whether it be Franco-Albertan, French Canadian, francophone, Albertan, Canadian or citizen of the planet, I am not sure yet. But I am proud of who I am. I am proud that I speak two languages and that one of them is French. I am really proud that I have more difficulty giving an oral presentation in English than in French. (...)
I am proud and this pride ensure a good future. This future maybe includes a united Canada, maybe a bilingual Canada, maybe a fifty-first state. Whatever the direction that society will choose, I will be proud... of who I am. This is what makes our association and our community strong.

[2] This is an excerpt of the speech given by the FJA president at the 25th anniversary banquet of the association. Before his tenure as FJA president, he was a long time AFG organizer and was he the first president of the SJFA.

and closer ties to the francophone community. However, now that I have completed my research I can not help but revisit my earlier assumption. Whose francophone identity are the AFG really producing?

Despite organizers intentions of integrating French-speaking youths into francophones ranks, I have come to believe that my research suggests that the Games were a site where youths did not all necessarily build a stronger francophone identity. Rather, many of them reproduced the fragility of their francophoneness as one component of a hybrid identity. Several of these French-speaking youths did not live their francophoneness habitually in social settings such as school, family and leisure environments and were thus unable to do so at the AFG. In this sense, they reproduced the pattern Bernard (1991) had previously observed: francophone youths in provinces where francophone communities represent smaller minorities increasingly use English among friends and family. Francophone identity was for them a strategic project that constantly required effort because their anglophoneness was more spontaneous. In interviews, they claimed to value their francophoneness but, in practice, they did not reiterate it. Even in a context that was meant to encourage them to constitute themselves as francophones, their anglophoneness remained the dominant component of their hybrid identity.

The fact that participants routinely and unconsciously spoke in English at the Games reveals the stronghold of discourses that produce the 'anglophone' over teenagers' subjectivity. French-speaking youths in Canada today do not live in enclosed francophone communities. They are increasingly exposed to English language popular culture through the media as well as through their increasing interaction and relationships with their English-speaking peers. These teenagers are subject to, and subject of, powerful discourses that produce them as anglophones and that confirm the hegemony of the English language. Furthermore, the appeal of these discourses is stronger than that of francophone discourses. As a result, French-speaking youths are produced as hybrids, integrating both anglophone and francophone identities, regardless of the nature of their relationships to either the French or the English language.

Teenagers participating in the AFG nominally took on francophone identity and did not want to "lose" it. They were aware of the fragility of their francophoneness and they all underlined the importance of practicing the French language. Yet, speaking French was not enough of a habit for them to be able to "play in French" at the AFG. They purposefully spoke French with 'adults' but they continued to spontaneously "play" in English thus reinforcing the anglophone component of their hybrid identity. The particular hybridity of youth identities where anglophoneness subdued their francophoneness is what differentiates participants' francophone identities from organizers' francophone identities. Both youths and organizers produced a discursively incoherent 'francophone' caught between linguistic and cultural 'truths'. However, the diluteness of youths' francophoneness points to a further level of complexity and instability that was not as salient in the way AFG organizers and francophone leaders construed their own francophoneness. Indeed, the weakness of youth francophone identities--their sporadic as opposed to routine practice of francophoneness--refers to the different configuration of their identities. Youths not only built their identity from fragments of francophone discourses, they also drew from anglophone identity discourses. They produced themselves as hybrids by combining their anglophoneness

and francophoneness into an identity centered on their bilingualism. However, their hybridity, in many cases, was produced in such a way that their francophoneness was threatened by their stronger anglophoneness.

Nevertheless, the AFG were still a context where francophone identities were built and re-affirmed: organizers reiterated their own francophoneness throughout the process of staging the Games. I want to suggest that the most significant impact the Games had in integrating anyone into the community has been in strengthening organizers' and volunteers' own francophone identity as well as their commitment to the active reproduction of the minority community. Francophone identity is a doing, it is performative, but this research has revealed that it was not lived or performed with the same intensity by all French speakers involved in the AFG. On the one hand, it was lived by organizers as if it was a 'truth' about themselves, as if it was an unquestionable essence. They were sufficiently disciplined by francophone discourses to take their francophone identity for granted. However, for youths, francophone identity was predominantly experienced as a project, a project that continually required effort. It had to be continually practiced and performed, repeated and reproduced because it was so fragile. Paradoxically, this fragility impeded its performance and reiteration since other discourses were more powerful in disciplining teenagers as 'natural' anglophones. The weakness of youths' francophoneness indeed stemmed from their being subjected to other identity discourses that had a greater pull and say over their subjectivity. In these circumstances, francophone identity was a project to which their commitment was uncertain, or at least part-time.

It was the particular configuration of youths' hybrid identities that produced their francophoneness as a weaker component than their anglophoneness. Hybridity is not necessarily about the unproblematic blending of identities. This research shows that, as underlined by Pieterse (1995), relations of power are reproduced within hybridity. The hybridity of young francophones, as that of organizers, does not assume that francophoneness is equally mixed with anglophoneness. Indeed, interviewed teenagers reported an emotional and/or a pragmatic relationship to francophoneness, but their practices, those most repeated, were set in other identity discourses, namely anglophone discourses. These youths routinely spoke English. They reinvented the 'francophone' by claiming the identity since they could speak French if they chose to, but they spontaneously spoke English. Their particular hybridity confirms the hegemony of the English language and reinforces the salience of anglophone discourses.

Organizers' identities also incorporated some elements of anglophoneness, but their francophoneness remained the core element of their hybridity. Francophone and anglophone identities were again not equally blended--francophone discourses exercised more power in disciplining and governing organizers. Perhaps this is the only way francophoneness can remain spontaneous and habitual in Canada today. When minority identities are merged with majority identities, can minorities be reproduced routinely and unproblematically at the individual level? Because of the ubiquity of the English language in Canada, francophoneness may have to be produced as the stronger component of hybrid identities if francophone communities in Canada are to persist in the next century.

The AFG were a context where organizers and volunteers were able to perform their francophoneness, ensure its routine and habitual character, and where they enacted

their attachment to the community. It is in part through their involvement in francophone associations such as FJA and the SJFA that many organizers publicly performed their identities as proud francophones, proud of who they were and proud of their community. Their francophoneness is what primarily defined them as individuals and citizens despite their belonging to a wider English-speaking society.

This is not to say that organizers' francophone identities were stable and linear compared to youths' identities. Organizers articulated quite a complex and dynamic configuration of discursive 'truths' about the francophone. The production of the 'francophone' through the discourses produced by organizers revealed the complexity that also marks strong francophone identities in Alberta today. Indeed, the definition of the francophone at the AFG was far from simple. It was continually being reinvented through the struggle between opposing linguistic and cultural 'truths' over the subjectivity of the francophone. Furthermore, the discursive production of francophoneness was further complicated by three dichotomous segments that crossed the linguistic and cultural discourses and created an array of possible definitions based on mother tongue, on the routine/strategic dimension of francophoneness and on its national/minority character. Thériault's (1994) work was particularly useful in identifying the last two dichotomies and in understanding the uncertainty and complexity of francophone identity. It is in their articulation of the routine/strategic and national/minority dichotomous segments that two significant differences emerged between organizers and participants. First, organizers spoke of their francophone identity as if it was a 'natural' fact, lived routinely, while youths conceived of their own francophoneness as a conscious and strategic project. Second, organizers conveyed different versions of the nation francophones are affiliated with: a bilingual Canadian nation, a French-speaking pan-Canadian nation, a bi-national Canada and French Canada. Youths, however, only constructed one version of the national community: a bilingual Canadian nation. These differences between the ways in which organizers and participants articulated the dichotomous segments of francophone identity are related to the distinct configurations of their respective hybrid identities that produced organizers as stronger francophones.

Indeed, what is significant about organizers' articulation of francophone discourses at the AFG is that while they produced contested definitions of francophoneness that shifted between linguistic and cultural truths, the strength of their own francophone identities was never in doubt or at risk. Organizers repeatedly and routinely performed the most basic francophone practice: they spoke French. Indeed, they were committed to living in French and they lived spontaneously as francophones at least part of their lives. The instability of the definitions of francophoneness affected their own identity as they shifted between linguistic and cultural 'truths' to define themselves. Yet, their francophone identity certainly remained strong since the ambivalence was between two versions of francophoneness as opposed to being between francophoneness and anglophoneness as in the case of the youths. While they were exposed and subjected to a variety of other identity discourses and while they did participate in the larger Canadian society, organizers first and foremost constituted themselves as francophones. Their francophone identity became stronger through their involvement with the AFG since it was a context where they engaged in repeated regulatory practices that reproduced their identity, whether these practices were governed by the linguistic or the cultural discourse. Furthermore, the instability of their francophoneness never put in question their

membership in the community, since their involvement with the AFG reproduced and reinforced it. The instability, indeed the contested character of francophone discourses, was mostly manifested in how organizers defined other French speakers as 'francophones' or 'other'.

This research shows that sport also influenced how organizers regarded these others as 'francophones' or not. In fact, it makes an important contribution in showing empirically that while at first glance, sport may seem irrelevant to the debates about the meaning of francophone identity, at the Games, sport acted on the ongoing deployment and outcome of these debates. It is indeed interesting to note that something like sport, a phenomena that is considered unrelated to the definition of francophoneness, has affected how organizers have articulated their ideas about the 'francophone' in determining the francophoneness of other French speakers. Organizers leaned towards the establishment of linguistic criteria for eligibility at the AFG not necessarily on the merits of the linguistic discourse as a legitimate definition of francophoneness but rather to comply with perceived sport imperatives. But again, sport did not affect how they perceived their own francophoneness. It instead influenced how they chose to conceive of the francophoneness of others.

Organizers not only reproduced and consolidated their francophone identity in staging the AFG, they also prepared to become future francophone leaders. Indeed, FJA and the SJFA were a training ground where organizers learned and developed the necessary abilities to assume leadership roles in the community's institutions. Most organizers were in their late teens and early twenties when they began their involvement in these associations. They were integrating into the political class of the community, and were developing leadership, administrative and organizational skills. They constituted themselves as managers of francophone activities and institutions. In other words, in staging the Games, organizers not only performed as 'francophones', thus strengthening their francophoneness, they also became francophone leaders-in-training.

In the context of the AFG, however, the irony is that their focus 'slid' towards the development of their organizational skills and their administrative competencies. What organizers were demonstrating became their ability to stage a 'legitimate' and well run sport event, rather than their ability to ensure that for the participating youths, the Games were a site where francophoneness reigned. As a result of this 'slip', organizers developed a sport and management expertise, they created a new institution that contributed to the institutional completeness of the community, but they did not develop the know-how to encourage youths to speak French within the context of this new institution.

While it might appear that this was a conscious choice on the part of organizers, it was not necessarily so. Organizers had aimed to create an environment where youths could produce themselves as francophones. This remained their declared objective and, I would argue, their genuine intent. When they leaned towards the achievement of the sport agenda and the development of their organizational skills, they did not anticipate the extent to which it could interfere with the francophone agenda. They had decided to prioritize sport because they believed it would attract more youths and they believed it would help achieve the community building purpose of the Games.

The various debates that have marked the Games since their institution demonstrate the complexity of the challenges organizers faced in trying to promote francophoneness

in the context of a sport event. Encouraging French-speaking youths to speak French is a daunting task, so much so that one might have expected efforts would have been devoted to finding and implementing the best strategies to accomplish the francophone agenda of the Games. Instead, in practice, creating a francophone environment became secondary to running well-organized tournaments that conformed to organized sport standards. Despite thinking of a few ideas to achieve the francophone agenda, such as providing an *animateur de foule*, creating a special team of volunteers and instituting a cultural committee, the sport agenda took over and organizers did not implement these strategies aimed at promoting francophoneness. Thus, the sport agenda of the Games not only interacted with the francophone discourses in a way that helped to produce their instability, it also meshed with organizers' wish to put on a successful event in ways that worked against the overall production of francophoneness. It is in this context that, despite organizers' intentions, participants were produced not as stronger francophones but as youths on a fun weekend. Their francophoneness was left as is--diluted and reduced to a weaker component of a hybrid identity.

But sport does not pose an inevitable threat to the promotion of francophone identity. The *Jeux de l'Acadie* certainly had a significant impact on the organizers who took part in the 1991 Western delegation. They returned with a renewed francophone pride and were excited and committed to reproducing the same kind of event in Alberta. According to them, this experience at the *Jeux de l'Acadie* had also been meaningful for the youth participants who, they reported, had been transformed and had discovered or re-discovered their francophoneness. Allain (1996) also argues that the Acadian games play an important role in the development of francophone pride. There is, admittedly, an important demographic difference between the francophone community in New Brunswick and that of Alberta, a difference which affects the production of a sense of community at the games. The AFG do not benefit from the effects of big crowds. But there is more to the establishment of a sense of community and francophone pride than packed stands. And organizers were aware of this. They made some changes to the cultural program such as hiring the magician/performer to entertain youths at the 1996 Games rather than bringing in a rock/popular music band that did not generate the expected effect among youths. They also came up with a few other strategies to establish a francophone environment, but because of the time and effort they devoted to the sport agenda they had no resources left to implement these strategies. The fact that the French-speaking population is much smaller in Alberta also influenced the SJFA's capacity to stage sanctioned sport competitions featuring high performance levels. Yet, organizers could have adopted alternative sport structures and objectives that would have been possible within the demographic constraints of the francophone community.

The point I wish to make here is that AFG organizers did not intentionally neglect the francophone agenda, but they did make choices that ultimately did not sustain the production of francophoneness at the Games. Sport can potentially be a medium to promote and sustain francophone identity. AFG organizers did, to a certain degree, take advantage of the room to maneuver among possible sport discourses. However, this margin that would have allowed the creation of a different kind of sport event, on the one hand, closer to the francophone objectives of the Games and, on the other hand, possible within the demographic constraints of the francophone community was not fully exploited. In addition, the possibilities of thinking about and implementing strategies to

ensure the production of francophoneness were not fully exploited either. The Games eventually leaned towards the reproduction of sport excellence objectives and values that were not consistent with the francophone agenda.

This research examined the decisions organizers ultimately made and discussed the effects of these decisions on the actual staging of the AFG. To further understand the choices organizers of such events make, choices that in this case moved them away from their original objective, it would be useful to further analyze the discursive context that framed organizers' decision making. What were the conditions of possibility for the adoption of alternative sport practices? To what extent were organizers aware of, or sought information on, alternative sport models and strategies to generate francophoneness among youths? How wide was the margin that would have allowed organizers to pursue the francophone agenda? What is the context that produced them as managers of francophone activities without developing their skills and knowledge in the actual production of francophoneness? Were they reproducing an existing pattern within the community? A comparative analysis of other francophones games such as the Acadian Games, the Franco-Ontarian Games and the *Jeux de la francophonie canadienne* would undoubtedly provide some insights into the differences and similarities concerning the discursive contexts in which other organizers devised their respective events. How did they navigate among the competing sport and francophone discourses at those other games? To what extent did their specific circumstances influence their choices?

These questions point to a tension between AFG organizers intentions to promote francophone identity and their contradictory practices. This same tension also characterizes youths' construction of their own francophoneness. They wanted to sustain it, but in practice they were performing other identities. At issue in both cases is the 'freedom' to choose among discursive truths. To what extent did organizers opt for the discourse of participation rather than the discourse of excellence? What was the potential for them to pursue the francophone agenda rather than the sport agenda of the AFG? In the same way, we can ask to what extent could youth participants engage in practices that produce francophoneness rather than anglophoneness. In other words, what was the margin of freedom that organizers and participants could have exercised in choosing subject positions in discourses that did not have as much currency as others? What were the limits and constraints of their agency? And why did they not, when possible, exploit the available room to maneuver?

The issue of agency, or of choice among possible subjectivities, is especially important in the context of francophone community building and it requires further analysis. Francophone identity is in fact, to a certain extent, a choice. It should however be emphasized that as 'free' subjects, French speakers can only choose among the discursive possibilities open to them. In this sense their choice is constrained. But what are those limitations and how can they be stretched? What brings French speakers to select or integrate some discourses rather than others? This research has argued that while they were exposed to the same kind of discourses that influenced youth participants, organizers predominantly focused on francophone 'truths' in conceiving of their own identity. Conversely, a number of French speaking youths at the AFG created new ways of conceiving themselves. They drew on existing discourses producing distinct francophone and anglophone identities to construct a bilingual identity. Their

bilingualism, merging opposite identities, became central to their sense of self. Youths thus chose from a greater variety of discourses than organizers and combined different subjectivities into a single hybrid identity. Why did several French-speaking youths, regardless of their cultural or ethnic antecedents, integrate anglophoneness into their self-identity to the extent that it threatened their francophoneness?

French speakers can choose to participate in Alberta's and Canada's larger institutions instead of associating within the community. This is why associations such as the SJFA and FJA attempt to integrate young French speakers into the francophone community. However, my research indicates that the francophone community leadership in Alberta is involved in an up-hill struggle in its efforts to retain or to attract younger members. It is not as effective in 'governing' French speakers' behaviors and practices as it would like to be, with the result that some French speakers, especially the younger generations, are drawn into Canadian affiliations and discourses.

Foucault's work focused on institutions such as the prison, the asylum and the clinic (1972, 1973, 1975) and their success at establishing regimes of 'truth' that produced specific practices. His analyses demonstrated the disciplinary effects of discourses like psychiatry, medicine and criminology. This study of the AFG, by comparison, examined fading and emerging discourses that are not as effective in disciplining the francophone as those totalizing discourses and institutions Foucault studied. Francophone discourses compete with more powerful identity discourses in their struggle to 'govern' the practices of French speakers. The apparatuses of power within the francophone community do not effectively discipline all French speakers. Indeed, my research showed that while AFG organizers embodied francophoneness thus unequivocally producing themselves as francophones, youth participants were not sufficiently engaging in the practices produced and regulated in francophone discourses to constitute themselves as francophones in the same way organizers did.

In conclusion, my study is an analysis of francophone discourses at a certain point in time. It reveals how some francophone identities are fading, and others emerging. The francophone subject is particularly unstable, open to resistance and re-invention in today's Canada. While my research focused on the discourses circulating within the community, youths' hybridity points to the influence of Canadian identity discourses produced outside the community. To better understand the context in which French-speaking teenagers constitute their identities, it is necessary to examine the discursive struggle between francophone and anglophone/Canadian discourses. I wish to stress however that the challenge for francophone communities is <u>not</u> to attempt to limit the choices offered to young French speakers between belonging to the community or to the wider English-speaking Canadian society. The point is not to insulate youths within the community and try to shield them from the variety of options offered to them in the wider society. The challenge of the francophone leadership, rather, is to ensure that francophone identity remains an attractive identity, embodied and routinely enacted even if it is a component of a hybrid identity. If minority francophone communities are to survive, let alone expand and develop, in today's Canada where various possibilities exist for self-identification and where the discourses of the majority are produced as more favorable, it would be important to understand the discursive context of the choices French speakers make. How do the discourses of the minority and those of the majority

interact and constrain the production of francophone identity. How can minority groups expand the margin that allows their reproduction?

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Alberta Francophone Games (AFG)/E5. (1997, May 18). Fifth participant interview with three girls from the *Centralta* region.

Alberta Francophone Games (AFG)/E7, (1997, May 18). Seventh participant interview with three girls and two boys from Calgary.

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Société des Jeux francophones de l'Alberta (SJFA)/Em. (1997, March 19). Follow-up interview with Natalie Tardif, former member of the Administrative Council.

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Société pour une école publique à Edmonton/E (1997, May 15). Interview with Suzanne Sauvé, president.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX ONE
Letter of information for francophone associations.
Consent form for francophone associations.

LETTRE D'INFORMATION [organismes francophones]

Je suis une étudiante diplômée inscrite dans un programme interdisciplinaire en études canadiennes et en sociologie du sport au "Department of Political Science/Canadian Studies" en conjonction avec la "Faculty of Physical Education and Recreation" de la "University of Alberta". Pour ma thèse de doctorat, j'examine la question de l'identité dans le contexte des Jeux francophones de l'Alberta. Je réaliserai ce projet de recherche sous la supervision de mon directeur de recherche, le professeur David Whitson.

Mon projet de recherche s'intitule: Les Jeux francophones de l'Alberta: une question d'identité. L'objet de l'étude porte avant tout sur les pratiques d'identification à la Francophonie en Alberta que rendent possible un événement sportif tel les Jeux francophones. D'une part, il s'agit d'étudier les organismes francophones qui oeuvrent au sein de la Francophonie en Alberta et particulièrement ceux qui contribuent à l'organisation des Jeux. D'autre part, il s'agit d'examiner la perspective des participant(e)s. L'analyse mènera à une meilleure compréhension de la contribution d'un phénomène sportif tel les Jeux francophones de l'Alberta au développement d'une identité collective.

Les résultats de l'étude seront disponibles sous la forme de thèse de doctorat à la collection Bruce Peel de la "University of Alberta" ainsi que sous forme de publications et présentations. De plus, un rapport de recherche sera soumis aux organismes participants à la recherche.

L'information concernant les Jeux francophones, la Francophonie albertaine et les pratiques d'identification sera recueillie dans différents contextes. D'abord, ce projet de recherche exige que j'observe le déroulement des 4ième et 5ième Jeux ainsi que d'autres activités de la Francophonie albertaine entre les mois de mai 1996 et mai 1997. Les documents privés et officiels des organismes francophones seront aussi étudiés sujet à l'approbation des organismes ou individus concernés. De plus, ce projet de recherche implique la participation, sous forme d'entrevues, des dirigeant(e)s des différents organismes francophones et de participant(e)s aux Jeux francophones de l'Alberta. Ces entrevues me permettront de clarifier et de compléter les informations obtenues lors de l'analyse des documents. Finalement, les participant(e)s aux 4ième et 5ième Jeux francophones de l'Alberta auront à remplir un court questionnaire.

Étant donné la nature du projet et que les dirigeants interrogés sont les porte-parole publics des organismes étudiés, il est entendu que la confidentialité des renseignements dévoilés lors des entrevues et l'analyse des documents n'est pas pertinente. Aussi, l'identité des organismes et de l'auteur des passages d'entrevues utilisés dans l'analyse des données sera dévoilée. Néanmoins, dans le cas de commentaires qui seront

spécifiquement identifiés comme confidentiels, la confidentialité sera respectée, c'est-à-dire que l'identité d'auteurs de passages confidentiels ne sera pas dévoilée.

La participation de l'organisme à ce projet de recherche est à titre gratuit. Elle ne comporte aucun risque physique, psychologique ou social pour les participants. Je tiens à préciser que votre organisme est complètement libre de refuser de participer à cette recherche. Un refus de votre part n'entraînera aucune répercussion. De plus, vous pouvez vous retirer de cette recherche, si vous le souhaitez, à tout moment.

Pour toutes questions, commentaires ou inquiétudes (préoccupations), vous pouvez communiquer en tout temps avec moi ou le professeur David Whitson aux coordonnées indiquées plus bas.

Christine Dallaire, M.A./ David Whitson, Ph.D.
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téléphone (bureau - David Whitson): (403) 492-0535
télécopieur: (403) 492-2586

LETTRE DE CONSENTEMENT [organismes]

But du projet de recherche: examiner la question de l'identité dans le contexte des Jeux francophones de l'Alberta

Je suis informé(e) des objectifs de la recherche de Christine Dallaire intitulée: Les Jeux francophones de l'Alberta: une question d'identité.

Par la présente, j'atteste avoir lu la lettre d'information décrivant le projet et spécifiant la contribution qui est demandée de l'organisme. J'ai eu l'occasion de poser des questions et je donne mon consentement que
(nom de l'organisme)_____participe à cette recherche.

Je prends note que la recherche implique que Christine Dallaire sera présente à certaines de nos activités et/ou réunions. Dans le cadre de ces événements, elle discutera de façon informelle avec les membres et les participants.

Je prends note aussi que cette recherche comprend la participation de membres de l'organisme à des entrevues ainsi que l'examen de nos documents par Christine Dallaire.

Il est entendu que les informations dévoilées dans les entrevues avec les dirigeants de l'organisme et l'analyse des documents ne sont pas confidentielles et que l'identité de l'organisme sera révélée dans le rapport de recherche, les publications et présentations.

La collaboration de l'organisme est à titre gratuit. Elle ne comprend aucun risque physique, psychologique ou social. L'organisme aura accès à toutes les informations du projet de recherche qui le concerne.

L'organisme peut se retirer à tout moment si nous le souhaitons sans aucune répercussion.

Pour toutes questions, commentaires ou inquiétudes (préoccupations), nous pouvons communiquer en tout temps avec Christine Dallaire ou le professeur David Whitson aux coordonnées indiquées plus bas.

Christine Dallaire, M.A. / David Whitson, Ph.D.
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télécopieur: (403) 492-2364

Signé(e) _____ Date _____
Président(e) ou Directeur général/Directrice générale

Signé(e) _____ Date _____
Chercheuse principale

APPENDIX TWO
Interview guide for organizers and leaders.

GUIDE D'ENTREVUE - organisateurs et dirigeants d'organismes

- Décrire l'organisme (SJFA, FJA, ACFA, ...)

    rôle
    mandat/mission

    changements depuis les débuts?
    (Statuts et règlements; membership; objectif; ...)

    type d'activités et de programmes offerts aux membres

- Ton rôle au sein de l'organisme? Depuis quand es-tu impliqué? À quels différents postes?
- Qu'est-ce qui t'as motivé à t'impliqué activement dans l'organisme?

- Comment me décrirais-tu la communauté francophone?
    - Quelle est la place de la langue dans la communauté?
    - Quand on parle de culture, laquelle?

- Qui sont les membres de la communauté francophone?
- Qui sont les organismes qui oeuvrent au sein de la communauté francophone?

- Quel étiquette te donnerais-tu aujourd'hui (francophone, franco-albertaine, ...)?
- Quel est la différence entre Canadien français, franco-albertain, francophone, québécois, francophile, ...?

- Décrire le lien entre la SJFA et l'organisme

- Comment décrirais-tu les JFA?
- Tu y a participé comme bénévole?

- Quelle est la place des JFA dans la communauté?
- Pourquoi les Jeux sont importants?

    - qu'est-ce que les Jeux représentent pour vous?
    - qui participent aux Jeux?

- Faire un dessin de la communauté.

APPENDIX THREE
Interview guide for participants.

GUIDE D'ENTREVUE - participants

- Que fais-tu dans tes périodes de loisirs? quels types d'activités? musique? émissions?
- Avec qui?
- Vous parlez en français ou en anglais durant vos loisirs? à l'école? à la maison?

- Parlez-moi des Jeux? qu'est-ce que ça représente pour vous? qu'est-ce que c'est?
- C'est quoi le but des Jeux?
- Qui participe aux Jeux?
- Qui organise les Jeux?
- Pourquoi venir aux Jeux?

- Qu'est-ce que vous avez fait aux Jeux?
- Qu'est-ce que vous avez aimé des Jeux?
- Qu'est-ce que vous aimé des Jeux?

- Si vous deviez faire la promotion dans les écoles pour attirer d'autres jeunes aux JFA, qu'est-ce que vous diriez?

- Est-ce que c'est préférable d'organiser du sport compétitif ou du sport récréatif aux JFA?

- Pendant les Jeux, avez-vous remarqué que des participants parlent anglais? Parlez-vous anglais aussi? Français tout le temps ou français et anglais?
- Comment réagissez-vous à ça?
- Ça vous dérange d'avoir à parler en français aux Jeux?

- Qu'est-ce que vous pensez de l'idée d'organisé un événement sportif en français?
- C'est important d'organiser des Jeux francophones de l'Alberta? Pourquoi?
- C'est important de faire des activités en français?
- Avez-vous rencontrez des jeunes d'ailleurs qui parlent français aux Jeux?
- Vous faites d'autres activités en français? (ex: avec FJA; télé; radio; musique; lecture)
- Pensez-vous que vos parents pensent que c'est important?
- Vos enseignants?

- Quelle est votre identité (francophone, Franco-Albertain, Canadien, ...)?
- Pourquoi? Qu'est-ce que c'est? Qu'est-ce que ça représente?
(c'est quoi la différence entre un Franco-Albertain et un Canadien français? et un francophone? et un Canadien? et un francophile?)

- Est-ce que c'est l'fun d'être francophone?
- spécial?
- difficile?

- C'est quoi la communauté francophone?
- Qui fait partie de la communauté? pourquoi?
(langue maternelle française? culture? participer?)
- Tu fais partie de la communauté? pourquoi?
- Pensez-vous que les gens ont différentes identités dans la communauté? (franco-albertaine, canadienne-française, francophone, québécoise, ...)
- Faire un dessin de la communauté.

APPENDIX FOUR

List of interviews with organizers, volunteers and francophone leaders.

Organizers and youth leaders:

Francophonie Jeunesse de l'Alberta (FJA). (1997, April 13). Interview with Paul Dumont, former executive-director .

Francophonie Jeunesse de l'Alberta (FJA). (1997, April 17). Interview with Denis Desgagné, former AFG organizer.

Francophonie Jeunesse de l'Alberta (FJA). (1997, April 30). Group interview with members of the Administrative Council and two employees - Fabiola Forcier, Roch Labelle, Denise Lavallée, Denis Perreaux and Pierre Philippe Ouimet.

Francophonie Jeunesse de l'Alberta (FJA). (1997, May 17,18 and June 4). Interviews with Joël Michaud, president.

Francophonie Jeunesse de l'Alberta (FJA). (1997, May 20). Interview with Rachelle Bruneau, former AFG organizer.

Société des Jeux francophones de l'Alberta (SJFA). (1996, May 19). Impromtu interview with Zacharie Magnan, past president, during the 1996 AFG.

Société des Jeux francophones de l'Alberta (SJFA). (1996, October 2). Group interview with members of the Administrative Council - Nathalie Bilodeau-Lepage, Sylvie Francoeur, Linda Lavoie, Danielle Tardif-Cyr, Richard Vaillancourt.

Société des Jeux francophones de l'Alberta (SJFA). (1996, October 28). Follow up group interview with members of the Administrative Council - Sylvie Francoeur, Danielle Tardif-Cyr, Richard Vaillancourt.

Société des Jeux francophones de l'Alberta (SJFA). (1996, October 30). Interview with Zacharie Magnan, past president.

Société des Jeux francophones de l'Alberta (SJFA). (1996, November 4). Interview with Natalie Tardif, former member of the Administrative Council.

Société des Jeux francophones de l'Alberta (SJFA). (1997, February 25). Interview with Charles Chenard, former member of the the Administrative Council.

Société des Jeux francophones de l'Alberta (SJFA). (1996, March, 19). Follow up interview with Natalie Tardif, former member of the Administrative Council.

Société des Jeux francophones de l'Alberta (SJFA). (1996, March 27). Follow-up interview with Zacharie Magan, past president.

Société des Jeux francophones de l'Alberta (SJFA). (1997, April 9). Interview with Marc Mahé, former member of the Administrative Council.

Société des Jeux francophones de l'Alberta (SJFA). (1997, April 18). Interview with Gisèle Houle, member of the organizing committee of the fifth AFG.

Société des Jeux francophones de l'Alberta (SJFA). (1997, May 17). Group interview with five organizers.

Société des Jeux francophones de l'Alberta (SJFA). (1997, May 18). Interview with an organizer.

Société des Jeux francophones de l'Alberta (SJFA). (1997, July 14). Interview with members of the committee for the*Golf par Excellence* - Pierre Bergeron, Daniel Dallaire, Clément Lavoie.

Volunteers:

Société des Jeux francophones de l'Alberta (SJFA). (1997, May 17). Interview with a volunteer.
Société des Jeux francophones de l'Alberta (SJFA). (1997, May 18). Interview with a volunteer.

Francophone leaders:

Alliance Française (1997, April 24). Interview with Jeanne Pfannmuller, president of the Edmonton chapter.
Association canadienne-française de l'Alberta (ACFA). (1997, March 24). Interview with Louisette Villeneuve, president.
Association canadienne-française de l'Alberta (ACFA). (1997, April 9). Interview with France Levasseur-Ouimet, former president.
Association canadienne-française de l'Alberta (ACFA). (1997, April 9). Interview with Lyne Lemieux, assistant director information/policies.
Association canadienne-française de l'Alberta (ACFA). (1997, May 22). Interview with George Arès, executive director.
Association multiculturelle de l'Alberta. (AMFA). (1997, April 13). Interview with four members.
Fédération des parents francophones de l'Alberta (FPFA). (1997, April 23). Interview with Mariette Rainville, executive director.
Société acadienne de l'Alberta/E (1997, May 30). Interview with Rodrigue Boudreau, president, and André Boudreau, co-founder.
Société pour une école publique à Edmonton/E (1997, May 15). Interview with Suzanne Sauvé, president.

APPENDIX FIVE

Letter of information for interviews with organizers and francophone leaders.
Interview consent form for organizers and francophone leaders.

LETTRE D'INFORMATION [organisateurs et dirigeant(e)s d'organismes]

Je suis une étudiante diplômée inscrite dans un programme interdisciplinaire en études canadiennes et en sociologie du sport au "Department of Political Science/Canadian Studies" en conjonction avec la "Faculty of Physical Education and Recreation" de la "University of Alberta". Pour ma thèse de doctorat, j'examine la question de l'identité dans le contexte des Jeux francophones de l'Alberta. Je réaliserai ce projet de recherche sous la supervision de mon directeur de recherche, le professeur David Whitson.

Mon projet de recherche s'intitule: Les Jeux francophones de l'Alberta: une question d'identité. L'objet de l'étude porte avant tout sur les pratiques d'identification à la Francophonie en Alberta que rendent possible un événement sportif tel les Jeux francophones. D'une part, il s'agit d'étudier les organismes francophones qui oeuvrent au sein de la Francophonie en Alberta et particulièrement ceux qui contribuent à l'organisation des Jeux. D'autre part, il s'agit d'examiner la perspective des participant(e)s. L'analyse mènera à une meilleure compréhension de la contribution d'un phénomène sportif tel les Jeux francophones de l'Alberta au développement d'une identité collective.

Les résultats de l'étude seront disponibles sous la forme de thèse de doctorat à la collection Bruce Peel de la "University of Alberta" ainsi que sous forme de publications et présentations. De plus, un rapport de recherche sera soumis aux organismes participant à la recherche.

L'information concernant les Jeux francophones, la Francophonie albertaine et les pratiques d'identification sera recueillie dans différents contextes. D'abord, ce projet de recherche exige que j'observe le déroulement des 4ième et 5ième Jeux francophones de l'Alberta ainsi que d'autres activités de la Francophonie albertaine entre les mois de mai 1996 et mai 1997. Les documents privés et officiels des organismes francophones seront aussi étudiés sujet à l'approbation des organismes ou individus concernés. De plus, ce projet de recherche implique la participation, sous forme d'entrevues, des dirigeant(e)s des différents organismes francophones et de participant(e)s (athlètes et bénévoles) aux Jeux francophones de l'Alberta. Ces entrevues me permettront de clarifier et de compléter les informations obtenues lors de l'analyse des documents. Finalement, les participant(e)s aux 4ième et 5ième Jeux francophones de l'Alberta auront à remplir un court questionnaire.

La participation à ce projet est à titre gratuit. Elle ne comporte aucun risque physique, psychologique ou social. Pour chaque dirigeant(e) participant à la recherche, les informations seront recueillies lors d'une entrevue d'environ 1.5 heure. Il est possible que les participant(e)s soient sollicité(e)s pour une deuxième entrevue (en personne ou par

téléphone), afin de préciser certaines questions qui pourraient se présenter lors de l'analyse des informations. La durée maximum de cette deuxième entrevue sera de 40 minutes. Tous les entretiens seront enregistrés sur bande sonore puis transcrits. Chacun(e) des participant(e)s pourra vérifier le texte des entrevues et donnera son autorisation afin que l'information puisse être utilisée. Lorsque le projet de recherche sera complété, les enregistrements seront détruits mais les textes d'entretien seront conservés pour un usage ultérieur possible.

Étant donné la nature du projet et que les dirigeants interrogés sont les porte-parole publics des organismes étudiés, il est entendu que la confidentialité des renseignements dévoilés lors des entrevues n'est pas pertinente. Aussi, l'identité de l'auteur des passages d'entrevues utilisés dans l'analyse des données sera dévoilée. Néanmoins, dans le cas de commentaires qui seront spécifiquement identifiés comme confidentiels, la confidentialité sera respectée, c'est-à-dire que l'identité d'auteurs de passages confidentiels ne sera pas dévoilée.

Je tiens à préciser que vous êtes complètement libre de refuser de participer à cette recherche ou de ne pas répondre à l'une ou l'autre des questions qui seront posées. Un refus de votre part n'entraînera aucune répercussion. De plus, vous pouvez vous retirer de cette recherche, si vous le souhaitez, à tout moment.

Pour toutes questions, commentaires ou inquiétudes (préoccupations), vous pouvez communiquer en tout temps avec moi ou le professeur David Whitson aux coordonnées indiquées plus bas.

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LETTRE DE CONSENTEMENT - ENTREVUES
[organisateurs et dirigeant(e)s d'organismes]

But du projet de recherche: examiner la question de l'identité dans le contexte des Jeux francophones de l'Alberta

Je suis informé(e) des objectifs de la recherche de Christine Dallaire intitulée: Les Jeux francophones de l'Alberta: une question d'identité.

Par la présente, j'atteste avoir lu la lettre d'information décrivant le projet et spécifiant la contribution qui m'est demandée. J'ai eu l'occasion de poser des questions et je donne mon consentement à participer à cette recherche.

Je prends note que la recherche comprend ma collaboration à une entrevue d'environ 1.5 heure. Il est possible aussi que je participe à une deuxième entrevue d'une durée maximum de 40 minutes. Tous les entretiens seront enregistrés et transcrits.

Je peux me retirer à tout moment si je le souhaite sans aucune répercussion. De plus, je peux refuser de répondre à l'une ou l'autre des questions qui me seront posées.

Il est entendu que les informations dévoilées ne sont pas confidentielles et que mon identité et mon poste au sein de l'organisme seront révélés dans le rapport de recherche, les publications et présentations. Je me réserve le droit de livrer les commentaires de mon choix sous le sceau de la confidentialité, auquel cas cette dernière sera respectée.

Ma collaboration est à titre gratuit. Elle ne comprend aucun risque physique, psychologique ou social. J'aurai accès à toutes les informations du projet de recherche qui me concernent. De plus, il est convenu que le contenu des enregistrements sera détruit lorsque les analyses seront terminées mais que les textes d'entretien (transcriptions) seront conservés pour un usage ultérieur possible.

Pour toutes questions, commentaires ou inquiétudes (préoccupations), je peux communiquer en tout temps avec Christine Dallaire ou le professeur David Whitson aux coordonnées indiquées plus bas.

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télécopieur: (403) 492-2586

Signé(e) _____ Date _____
Dirigeant(e) d'organisme

Signé(e) _____ Date _____
Chercheuse principale

APPENDIX SIX
Transcription consent form.

LETTRE DE CONSENTEMENTS- TEXTES D'ENTREVUES (TRANSCRIPTIONS)

But du projet de recherche: examiner la question de l'identité dans le contexte des Jeux francophones de l'Alberta

J'ai examiné le texte de l'entrevue (ou des entrevues) à laquelle (auxquelles) j'ai participé dans le cadre du projet de recherche de Christine Dallaire intitulée: Les Jeux francophones de l'Alberta: une question d'identité.

Par la présente, j'autorise Christine Dallaire à utiliser ces textes ainsi qu'à citer mes paroles dans le cadre de son projet de recherche.

Je reconnais que le texte de l'entrevue (ou des entrevues) reflète avec justesse mes paroles et le sens de mes affirmations.

Je prends note aussi que je serai identifié(e) lors de la publication et la présentation des résultats de l'étude à titre de responsable d'une organisation de la Francophonie albertaine.

Je peux retirer cette autorisation à tout moment si je le souhaite. Je peux aussi refuser l'utilisation de certaines parties du texte de l'entrevue (ou des entrevues).

De plus, il est convenu que le contenu des enregistrements sera détruit lorsque les analyses seront terminées mais que les textes d'entretien (transcriptions) seront conservés pour un usage ultérieur possible.

Dans l'éventualité où le rapport de recherche serait publié chez un éditeur, je cède mes droits sur le texte des entretiens (transcriptions).

Pour toutes questions, commentaires ou inquiétudes (préoccupations), je peux communiquer en tout temps avec Christine Dallaire ou le professeur David Whitson aux coordonnées indiquées plus bas.

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télécopieur: (403) 492-2586

Signé(e) _____ Date _____
Dirigeant(e) d'organisme

Signé(e) _____ Date _____
Chercheure principale

APPENDIX SEVEN
List of interviews with youth participants.

Interviews with youth participants

Edmonton. (1997, April 15). Interview with three girls, former participants.
Alberta Francophone Games (1997, May 17). First participant interview with one boy from Edmonton and one boy from Edson.
Alberta Francophone Games (1997, May 17). Second participant interview with two girls from Edmonton and one boy from the Athabasca region.
Alberta Francophone Games (1997, May 17). Third participant interview with six girls from the Peace River region.
Alberta Francophone Games (1997, May 17). Fourth participant interview with two boys and 3 girls from Fort McMurray (two and Edmonton (three).
Alberta Francophone Games (1997, May 18). Fifth participant interview with three girls from the *Centralta* region.
Alberta Francophone Games (1997, May 18). Sixth participant interview with two girls from Edmonton and one girl from Calgary.
Alberta Francophone Games (1997, May 18). Seventh participant interview with three girls and two boys from Calgary.
Alberta Francophone Games (1997, May 19). Eighth participant interview two boys and one girl from the *Centralta* region.
Alberta Francophone Games (1997, May 19). Ninth participant interview with one girl from Calgary.
Jean Côté. (1997, April 18). Interview with former participants, three girls and two boys, from the Peace River region at *École Héritage*.

APPENDIX EIGHT
Letter of information for interviews with participants .
Interview consent form for youth participants.

LETTRE D'INFORMATION [participant(e)s]

Je suis une étudiante diplômée inscrite dans un programme interdisciplinaire en études canadiennes et en sociologie du sport au "Department of Political Science/Canadian Studies" en conjonction avec la "Faculty of Physical Education and Recreation" de la "University of Alberta". Pour ma thèse de doctorat, j'examine la question de l'identité dans le contexte des Jeux francophones de l'Alberta. Je réaliserai ce projet de recherche sous la supervision de mon directeur de recherche, le professeur David Whitson.

Mon projet de recherche s'intitule: Les Jeux francophones de l'Alberta: une question d'identité. L'objet de l'étude porte avant tout sur les pratiques d'identification à la Francophonie en Alberta que rendent possible un événement sportif tel les Jeux francophones. D'une part, il s'agit d'étudier les organismes francophones qui oeuvrent au sein de la Francophonie en Alberta et particulièrement ceux qui contribuent à l'organisation des Jeux. D'autre part, il s'agit d'examiner la perspective des participant(e)s. L'analyse mènera à une meilleure compréhension de la contribution d'un phénomène sportif tel les Jeux francophones de l'Alberta au développement d'une identité collective.

Les résultats de l'étude seront disponibles sous la forme de thèse de doctorat à la collection Bruce Peel de la "University of Alberta" ainsi que sous forme de publications et présentations. De plus, un rapport de recherche sera soumis aux organismes participants à la recherche.

L'information concernant les Jeux francophones, la Francophonie albertaine et les pratiques d'identification sera recueillie dans différents contextes. D'abord, ce projet de recherche exige que j'observe les 4ième et 5ième Jeux ainsi que d'autres activités de la Francophonie albertaine entre les mois de mai 1996 et mai 1997. Les documents privés et officiels des organismes francophones seront aussi étudiés sujet à l'approbation des organismes ou individus concernés. De plus, ce projet de recherche exige la participation, sous forme d'entrevues, des dirigeant(e)s des différents organismes francophones et de participant(e)s aux Jeux francophones de l'Alberta. Ces entrevues me permettront de clarifier et de compléter les informations obtenues lors de l'analyse des documents. Finalement, les participant(e)s aux 4ième et 5ième Jeux francophones de l'Alberta auront à remplir un court questionnaire.

La participation à ce projet est à titre gratuit. Elle ne comporte aucun risque physique, psychologique ou social. Pour chaque athlète ou bénévole participant à la recherche, les informations seront recueillies lors d'une entrevue d'environ 40 minutes. Tous les entretiens seront enregistrés sur bande sonore puis transcrits. Lorsque le projet de recherche sera complété, les enregistrements seront détruits mais les textes d'entretien

seront conservés pour un usage ultérieur possible. Il est à noter que la participation des athlètes et bénévoles à ce projet de recherche est complètement anonyme. Les noms n'apparaîtront sur aucun document et ne seront associés à aucun des passages utilisés dans l'analyse des données. C'est-à-dire que la confidentialité sera respectée et l'identité d'auteurs de passages ne sera pas dévoilée.

Je tiens à préciser que vous êtes complètement libre de refuser de participer à cette recherche ou de ne pas répondre à l'une ou l'autre des questions qui seront posées. Un refus de votre part n'entraînera aucune répercussion. De plus, vous pouvez vous retirer de cette recherche, si vous le souhaitez, à tout moment.

Pour toutes questions, commentaires ou inquiétudes (préoccupations), vous pouvez communiquer en tout temps avec moi ou le professeur David Whitson aux coordonnées indiquées plus bas.

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T6G 2H4

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LETTRE DE CONSENTEMENT - ENTREVUES [participant(e)s]

But du projet de recherche: examiner la question de l'identité dans le contexte des Jeux francophones de l'Alberta

Je suis informé(e) des objectifs de la recherche de Christine Dallaire intitulée: Les Jeux francophones de l'Alberta: une question d'identité.

Par la présente, j'atteste avoir lu la lettre d'information décrivant le projet et spécifiant la contribution qui m'est demandée. J'ai eu l'occasion de poser des questions et je donne mon consentement à participer à cette recherche.

Je prends note que la recherche comprend ma collaboration à une entrevue d'environ 40 minutes. Tous les entretiens seront enregistrés sur bande sonore et transcrits.

Je peux me retirer à tout moment si je le souhaite sans aucune répercussion. De plus, je peux refuser de répondre à l'une ou l'autre des questions qui me seront posées.

Il est entendu que les informations dévoilées sont anonymes et que mon identité ne sera pas révélée dans le rapport de recherche, les publications et présentations.

Ma collaboration est à titre gratuit. Elle ne comprend aucun risque physique, psychologique ou social. De plus, il est convenu que le contenu des enregistrements sera détruit lorsque les analyses seront terminées mais que les textes d'entretien (transcriptions) seront conservés pour un usage ultérieur possible.

Pour toutes questions, commentaires ou inquiétudes (préoccupations), je peux communiquer en tout temps avec Christine Dallaire ou le professeur David Whitson aux coordonnées indiquées plus bas.

Christine Dallaire, M.A./ David Whitson, Ph.D.
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Signé(e) _____ Date _____
Participant(e) - athlète ou bénévole

Signé(e) _____ Date _____

Chercheuse principale

APPENDIX NINE
First draft of the research questionnaire.

Questionnaire

1 - Quel âge as-tu? _____

2 - Tu es de sexe: féminin ____ masculin ____

3 - Tu es né(e) à: _____

4 - Tu habites à: _____

5 - Tu fréquentes une école de langue:
française ____ anglaise ____ immersion française ____
autre: _____

6 - Quelle est ta langue maternelle (la première langue, les premiers mots et premières phrases que tu as appris)?
français ____ anglais ____ français et anglais ____
autre: _____

7 - Quel terme t'identifie le mieux?
Franco-Albertain/Franco-Albertaine ____
Francophone ____
Canadien français/Canadienne française ____
Albertain/Albertaine ____
Canadien/Canadienne ____
Francophile ____
autre: _____

8 - Est-ce que tes parents sont de langue maternelle française (c'est-à-dire que la première langue, les premiers mots et premières phrases qu'ils ont appris était en français)?
père: oui ____ non ____ mère: oui ____ non ____

9 - À la maison vous parlez surtout:
français ____ anglais ____ français et anglais ____
autre: _____

10 - Avec tes ami(e)s tu parles _____.

11 - Est-ce que tu participes à d'autres événements francophones?
oui ____ non ____
Si oui, lesquels: _____
_____
_____

APPENDIX TEN
Volunteer questionnaire at the 1996 AFG.
Participant questionnaire at the 1996 AFG.

QUESTIONNAIRE - BÉNÉVOLES

1 - Quel âge as-tu? _____

2 - Tu es de sexe: féminin ____ masculin ____

3 - Tu es né(e) à: _____

4 - Tu habites à: _____

5 - Tu as fréquenté une école/des écoles de langue:
française ____ anglaise ____ immersion française ____
autre: _____

6 - Comment as-tu été recruté(e) pour les 4e Jeux francophones de l'Alberta?
médias (radio, télévision, journal) francophones _____
médias anglophones _____
présentation (à l'école, à une réunion, ...) _____
lettre ou bulletin d'un organisme francophone
(ACFA, FPFA, FAFA, FJA, ...) _____
appel téléphonique d'un organisme francophone _____
par un(e) ami(e) _____
autre: _____

7 - Pourquoi as-tu décidé(e) de t'impliquer comme bénévole?

_____
_____
_____
_____

8 - Quelle est ta langue maternelle (la première langue, les premiers mots et premières phrases que tu as appris)?
français ____ anglais ____ français et anglais ____
autre: _____

9 - Quel terme t'identifie le mieux? (Si tu choisis plus d'un terme, mets les en ordre de priorité en donnant le numéro 1 au terme qui t'identifie le mieux, le numéro 2 au deuxième plus important et ainsi de suite.)
Franco-Albertain/Franco-Albertaine ____
Francophone ____
Canadien français/Canadienne française ____
Albertain/Albertaine ____

Canadien/Canadienne ____
Francophile ____
autre: _____

10 - Est-ce que tes parents sont de langue maternelle française (c'est-à-dire que la première langue, les premiers mots et premières phrases qu'ils ont appris était en français)?
père: oui _____ non _____ mère: oui ____ non _____

11 - À la maison vous parlez surtout:
français _____ anglais ____ français et anglais ____
autre: _____.

12 - Avec tes ami(e)s tu parles _____.

13 - Est-ce que tu participes à d'autres événements francophones?
oui _____ non _____
Si oui, lesquels: _____
_____
_____

QUESTIONNAIRE - ATHLÈTES

1 - Quel âge as-tu? _____

2 - Tu es de sexe: féminin ____ masculin ____

3 - Tu es né(e) à: _____

4 - Tu habites à: _____

5 - Tu fréquentes une école de langue:
française ____ anglaise ____ immersion française ____
autre: _____

6 - Comment as-tu été informé(e) des 5e Jeux francophones de l'Alberta?
médias (radio, télévision, journal) francophones _____
médias anglophones _____
présentation (à l'école, à une réunion, ...) _____
lettre ou bulletin d'un organisme francophone
(ACFA, FPFA, FAFA, FJA, ...) _____
appel téléphonique d'un organisme francophone _____
par un(e) ami(e) _____
autre: _____

7 - Pourquoi as-tu décidé(e) de participer aux 4e Jeux francophones de l'Alberta?
_____
_____
_____
_____

8 - Quelle est ta langue maternelle (la première langue, les premiers mots et premières phrases que tu as appris)?
français ____ anglais ____ français et anglais ____
autre: _____

9 - Quel terme t'identifie le mieux? (Si tu choisis plus d'un terme, mets les en ordre de priorité en donnant le numéro 1 au terme qui t'identifie le mieux, le numéro 2 au deuxième plus important et ainsi de suite.)
Franco-Albertain/Franco-Albertaine ____
Francophone ____
Canadien français/Canadienne française ____
Albertain/Albertaine ____
Canadien/Canadienne ____
Francophile ____
autre: _____

10 - Est-ce que tes parents sont de langue maternelle française (c'est-à-dire que la première langue, les premiers mots et premières phrases qu'ils ont appris était en français)?
père: oui ____ non ____ mère: oui ____ non ____

11 - À la maison vous parlez surtout:
français ____ anglais ____ français et anglais ____
autre: _____

12 - Avec tes ami(e)s tu parles _____.

13 - Est-ce que tu participes à d'autres événements francophones?
oui ____ non ____
Si oui, lesquels: _____
_____
_____

APPENDIX ELEVEN
Administration of questionnaires at the 1996 Games.

The volunteer and participant questionnaires were anonymous and administered during the Games. The Steering Committee of the 1996 AFG offered to administer both questionnaires in conjunction with the Games evaluation survey. The participant questionnaire was distributed on the last day of the event before lunch. All teenagers answered it at the same time together with the evaluation survey. The response rate for this questionnaire was fairly high: 140 respondants out of approximately 150 participants. The volunteer questionnaire was distributed with the AFG evaluation survey as volunteers presented themselves at the volunteer desk to register and get their work assignment. This occurred anytime between Friday afternoon and Sunday morning. As a result of a miscommunication problem, volunteers were asked to wait until they had completed their assigned tasks before answering both questionnaires. I became aware of this only later on Friday evening, the opening night of the Games, after numerous questionnaires had already been distributed. My concern was that the volunteers would forget to complete and return the questionnaires. The instructions concerning my research questionnaire were therefore subsequently changed. Volunteers were asked to fill out the questionnaire at the time of their registration at the volunteer desk. (Unlike the evaluation survey, they did not have to experience the Games to answer the questions.) In this way, questionnaires were answered at once and left with organizers. I received 25 volunteer questionnaires out of an estimated number of 100 volunteers (SJFA, 1997).

APPENDIX TWELVE
Volunteer questionnaire at the 1997 AFG.
Participant questionnaire at the 1997 AFG.

Salut! Je me nomme Christine Dallaire et j'étudie à la University of Alberta. Pour ma thèse de doctorat, j'examine la question de l'identité dans le contexte des Jeux francophones de l'Alberta. Tes réponses à ce questionnaire me sont très utiles pour mieux comprendre les pratiques d'identification à la Francophonie en Alberta que rendent possible un événement sportif tel les Jeux francophones. Merci de prendre le temps de répondre à chacune des questions!

Questionnaire - Bénévoles

1 - Quel âge as-tu? _____

2 - Tu es de sexe: féminin ____ masculin ____

3 - Tu es né(e) à: _____

4 - Tu habites à: _____

5 - Tu as fréquenté une école/des écoles de langue:
française ____ anglaise ____ immersion française ____
autre: _____

6 - Comment as-tu été recruté(e) pour les 5e Jeux francophones de l'Alberta?
médias (radio, télévision, journal) francophones _____
médias anglophones _____
présentation (à l'école, à une réunion, ...) _____
lettre ou bulletin d'un organisme francophone
(ACFA, FPFA, FAFA, FJA, ...) _____
appel téléphonique d'un organisme francophone _____
autre: _____

7 - Pourquoi as-tu décidé(e) de t'impliquer comme bénévole?

_____
_____
_____
_____

8 - Quelle est ta langue maternelle (la première langue, les premiers mots et premières phrases que tu as appris)?
français ____ anglais ____ français et anglais ____
autre: _____

9 - Selon toi, quel terme t'identifie le mieux? (i.e.: Canadien français, Franco-Albertain, francophone, Canadien, bilingue ou autre) Si tu choisis plus d'un terme, mets les en ordre de priorité en commencant par le plus important.
je suis: _____

10 - Est-ce que tes parents sont de langue maternelle française (c'est-à-dire que la première langue, les premiers mots et premières phrases qu'ils ont appris était en français)?
père: oui ____ non ____ mère: oui ____ non ____

11 - À la maison vous parlez surtout:
français ____ anglais ____ français et anglais ____
autre: _____

12 - Avec tes ami(e)s tu parles _____.

13 - As-tu déjà participé aux Jeux francophones de l'Alberta?
Si oui, encercle les Jeux auxquels tu a participé en tant que bénévole ou athlète.

1iers Jeux, 1992 2ièmes Jeux, 1993 3ièmes Jeux, 1995 4ièmes Jeux, 1996

14 - Est-ce que tu participes à d'autres événements francophones?
oui ____ non ____
Si oui, lesquels: _____
_____
_____
_____

Salut! Je me nomme Christine Dallaire et j'étudie à la University of Alberta. Pour ma thèse de doctorat, j'examine la question de l'identité dans le contexte des Jeux francophones de l'Alberta. Tes réponses à ce questionnaire me sont très utiles pour mieux comprendre les pratiques d'identification à la Francophonie en Alberta que rendent possible un événement sportif tel les Jeux francophones. Merci de prendre le temps de répondre à chacune des questions!

Questionnaire - ATHLÈTES

1 - Quel âge as-tu? _____

2 - Tu es de sexe: féminin ____ masculin ____

3 - Tu es né(e) à: _____

4 - Tu habites à: _____

5 - Tu fréquentes une école de langue:
française _____ anglaise ____ immersion française ____
autre: _____

6 - Comment as-tu été informé(e) des 5e Jeux francophones de l'Alberta?
médias (radio, télévision, journal) francophones _____
médias anglophones _____
présentation (à l'école, à une réunion, ...) _____
lettre ou bulletin d'un organisme francophone
(ACFA, FPFA, FAFA, FJA, ...) _____
appel téléphonique d'un organisme francophone _____
par un(e) ami(e) _____
autre: _____

7 - Pourquoi as-tu décidé(e) de participer aux 5e Jeux francophones de l'Alberta?

_____
_____
_____
_____

8 - Quelle est ta langue maternelle (la première langue, les premiers mots et premières phrases que tu as appris)?
français _____ anglais ____ français et anglais ____
autre: _____

9 - Selon toi, quel terme t'identifie le mieux? (i.e.: Canadien français, Franco-Albertain, francophone, Canadien, bilingue ou autre) Si tu choisis plus d'un terme, mets les en ordre de priorité en commencant par le plus important.

je suis: _____

10 - Est-ce que tes parents sont de langue maternelle française (c'est-à-dire que la première langue, les premiers mots et premières phrases qu'ils ont appris était en français)?
père: oui ____ non ____ mère: oui ____ non ____

11 - À la maison vous parlez surtout:
français ____ anglais ____ français et anglais ____
autre: _____

12 - Avec tes ami(e)s tu parles _____.

13 - As-tu déjà participé aux Jeux francophones de l'Alberta?
Si oui, encercle les Jeux auxquels tu a participé.

1iers Jeux, 1992 2ièmes Jeux, 1993 3ièmes Jeux, 1995 4ièmes Jeux, 1996

14 - Est-ce que tu participes à d'autres événements francophones?
oui ____ non ____
Si oui, lesquels: _____
_____
_____
_____

APPENDIX THIRTEEN
Administration of questionnaires at the 1997 Games

I had made arrangements with the Steering Committee to have a set time and space to conduct the survey. We had planned that I would meet each delegation on the Friday, during the registration process. However, the schedule was disrupted because three delegations arrived earlier in the day and the registration process was changed to accommodate them. I did meet with the last delegation that went through the planned registration process and administered the questionnaires to those participants and volunteers. I was able to locate participants and volunteer of two delegations and conducted the survey while they were gathered in their assigned space to prepare their cheer and get ready for the evening's activities. I conducted the survey with the rest of the participants at bedtime on Saturday and Sunday. Sleeping quarters were organized by delegation, which made it easier to target the specific delegations I had missed at registration. Yet, this process was complicated by the fact that boys and girls were housed in different schools and by the fact that the *chefs de mission* meetings and the General Council meetings overlapped the period where participants were getting ready for bed. Fortunately, a volunteer and an organizer helped me in this process of conducting the survey at bedtime. In the end, I was able to obtain a high response rate, collecting 164 questionnaires out of a total of about 180 participants.

The volunteer questionnaire at the 1997 AFG was again distributed by organizers at the volunteer registration desk. Organizers were supposed to hand out the questionnaire when volunteers presented themselves to register for the weekend. Volunteers would be asked to answer the questionnaire at once and hand it back to organizers before leaving the volunteer headquarters. There were some problems with having the questionnaire administered this way. Different organizers and volunteers worked at the registration desk throughout the weekend and some of them forgot to ask volunteers to complete my research questionnaire. Another concern was that the questionnaire was simply being distributed as opposed to administered: organizers did not ensure that volunteers answered and returned it. Despite the constraints associated with this process, it was still the best way to reach volunteers since this was the only place where all volunteers were meant to stop by at least once. Unfortunately, I could not wait at the volunteer headquarters throughout the weekend to meet all of them since I was busy visiting the different competition sites and interviewing participants. At no point during the event would all volunteers be gathered in one location where I could conduct my survey. In this context, I had little choice but to trust that those in charge of the volunteer headquarters would do their best to distribute my questionnaires.

I did occasionally stop by the volunteer desk to check on the process. But in talking with some volunteers I became aware that they had not all received my questionnaire. Consequently, when I had time on the last two days of the Games I tried to meet with different volunteers to distribute the questionnaire. During meals, I approached accompanying adults of different delegations and asked them to complete the questionnaire. In between interviews, I also met with other volunteers, such as the kitchen crew. This way, I was able to collect 57 questionnaires from the more than 147 volunteers involved in the 1997 AFG.